

DETROIT LIBRARY JAN 9 1958

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY

PUBLISHED BY THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 1957
VOLUME XXXIV
NUMBER FOUR

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY

THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 1957

VOLUME XXXIX

NUMBER FOUR

CONTRIBUTING INSTITUTIONS

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE • COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY • HARVARD UNIVERSITY • INDIANA UNIVERSITY • THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY • NEW YORK UNIVERSITY • OBERLIN COLLEGE • PRINCETON UNIVERSITY • SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART • UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO • UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS • UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE • UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN • UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA • VASSAR COLLEGE • WELLESLEY COLLEGE • WILLIAMS COLLEGE • YALE UNIVERSITY

THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM • CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK • THE CATHERWOOD FOUNDATION • CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART • THE CORNING MUSEUM OF GLASS • DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION • THE FRICK COLLECTION • THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART • THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY • MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON • NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART • NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA • SAMUEL H. KRESS FOUNDATION • WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief: JAMES S. ACKERMAN, *Department of Art, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.*

Managing Editor: HARRIET ANDERSON, *Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.*

Book Review Editor: ROSALIE B. GREEN, *Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.*

TO SERVE THROUGH 1958

VIRGIL BARKER
University of Miami

SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN
Dumbarton Oaks

ROBERT GOLDWATER
Queen's College

GEORGE HANFMANN
Harvard University

G. HAYDN HUNTLEY
Northwestern University

H. W. JANSON
New York University

HELENE KANTOR
University of Chicago

RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY
Smith College

ULRICH MIDDELDORF
*Kunsthistorisches Institut,
Florence*

DOROTHY MINER
Walters Art Gallery

AGNES MONGAN
Harvard University

JAKOB ROSENBERG
Harvard University

TO SERVE THROUGH 1961

ALFRED H. BARR, JR.
Museum of Modern Art

HARRY BOBER
New York University

SUMNER MC K. CROSBY
Yale University

RICHARD ETTINGHAUSEN
Freer Gallery of Art

LLOYD GOODRICH
*Whitney Museum of
American Art*

JULIUS HELD
Barnard College

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK
Smith College

ERNST KITZINGER
Dumbarton Oaks

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER
New York University

KARL LEHMANN
New York University

ERWIN PANOFSKY
Institute for Advanced Study

ALEXANDER SOPER
Bryn Mawr College

FOREIGN MEMBERS

TO SERVE THROUGH 1958

DIEGO ANGULO-ÍÑIGUEZ
*Diego Velasquez Institute,
Madrid*

JAN BIALOSTOCKI
National Museum, Warsaw

ANTHONY BLUNT
Courtauld Institute

ANDRÉ CHASTEL
*Institute of Art and
Archaeology, Paris*

L. M. J. DELAISSÉ
Royal Library, Brussels

HERBERT VON EINEM
University of Bonn

J. G. VAN GELDER
University of Utrecht

HANS ROBERT HAHNLOSER
University of Bern

JIRO HARADA
*Imperial Household
Museum, Tokyo*

VICTOR LASAREFF
*Academy of Sciences,
Moscow*

CARL NORDENFALK
National Museum, Stockholm

RODOLFO PALLUCCHINI
University of Padua

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY
Victoria and Albert Museum

Subscriptions for THE ART BULLETIN should be sent to the College Art Association of America at 432 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. The price of THE ART BULLETIN is three dollars a number, twelve dollars a year.

Articles and monographs for the new Supplement series should be addressed to the Editor of THE ART BULLETIN, Department of Art, University of California, Berkeley 4, Cal.; books for review should be addressed to the Book Review Editor, College Art Association, 432 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. Before submitting manuscripts, authors are requested to consult the "Notes for Contributors" printed in the March issue.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., October 24, 1925, under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at the Post Office at Princeton, New Jersey, November 3, 1948.

THE ART BULLETIN

DECEMBER 1957

The Lost <i>Sleeping Cupid</i> of Michelangelo	PAUL F. NORTON	251
D'Angiviller's <i>Grands Hommes</i> and the Significant Moment	FRANCIS H. DOWLEY	259
The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism	ROBERT ROSENBLUM	279

NOTES

Addenda to Elaine Loeffler's "A Famous Antique"	RICHARD PAUL WUNDER	291
Notes on Castelseprio	MEYER SCHAPIRO	292
Unnoticed Fragments of Old Stained Glass in Notre-Dame de Paris	PAUL FRANKL	299
Questions of Identity in Veronese's <i>Christ and the Centurion</i>	PHILIPP FEHL	301
Bernini, Gaulli, and the Frescoes of the Gesù	ROBERT ENGGASS	303

BOOK REVIEWS

Donald N. Wilber, <i>The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Il Khānīd Period</i>	DANIEL SCHLUMBERGER	307
Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, <i>Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire</i>	ROBERT A. KOCH	309
Korneel Goossens, <i>David Vinckboons</i>	SEYMOUR SLIVE	311
Margarete Kühn, <i>Schloss Charlottenburg</i>	HANS HUTH	316
M. L. Hairs, <i>Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVIIe siècle</i>	JOHN RUPERT MARTIN	318
Vincent J. Scully, Jr., <i>The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright</i>	THOMAS J. MC CORMICK	320

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED	323
------------------------	-----

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXIX	325
-----------------------	-----



THE LOST *SLEEPING CUPID* OF MICHELANGELO

PAUL F. NORTON

MICHELANGELO began work on his famous *Sleeping Cupid* in 1495, just after returning to Florence from Bologna. The account of the creation and early history of the work is most credibly related by Condivi.¹ He tells the well-known story of how Cardinal Raffaello Riario in Rome bought the *Cupid* believing it an antique piece. The Cardinal later discovered his error, returned the statue to the wily dealer Baldassare del Milanese and received his money back. Vasari aptly remarks that "the Cardinal . . . did not escape blame for not recognizing the merit of the work, for when the moderns equal the ancients in perfection it is a mere empty preference of a name to the reality when men prefer the works of the latter to those of the former, though such men are found in every age."² When Michelangelo discovered that Baldassare had made an excessively large profit in selling his work to the Cardinal, he went to Rome and heatedly demanded his *Cupid*. But the dealer curtly replied that "he would rather break it into a hundred pieces; he had bought the child, and it was his property."³

Vasari's account may be verified by two letters dating from the very year the *Cupid* was sent to Rome. Both were written by the Count Antonio Maria della Mirandola to the Marchesa Isabella d'Este at Mantua. The Count says in the first that some people believe the *Cupid* to be modern while others claim it to be an antique.⁴ Then in the second letter, having had further information, he says it actually is modern, though carved so perfectly that many were deceived by the artist.

Michelangelo never explained why he originally carved a Cupid, but we know that as a youth he studied antique sculpture in the Medici garden where the architect Giuliano da Sangallo had placed an antique *Sleeping Cupid* brought by him from Naples in 1488 as a present from King Ferdinand I to Lorenzo de' Medici. Michelangelo undoubtedly saw this *Cupid*, and it is not at all improbable that he copied it rather closely for he is known while young to have copied other statues of the classic age, such as the *Head of a Faun*, and to have been inspired by classical themes as, for instance, in the *Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs* (1492), and the *Bacchus* (1496).

The crafty dealer Baldassare conspicuously displayed his newly acquired *Cupid* in the house of Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza, in the Banchi Vecchi, where all of the rich and influential in society could view it. It was at this time that Isabella d'Este heard of the statue from the Count della Mirandola, but she was not then interested in buying it.

Several years later she had changed her mind and requested her influential brother, the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, to act in her behalf by asking Cesare Borgia to send it to her.⁵ Apparently Cesare had bought the statue in Rome from Baldassare, and shortly thereafter gave it to Guidobaldo da Montefeltre, the Duke of Urbino. Cesare Borgia was certainly no connoisseur of the fine arts, so one must suppose that the gift was but a part of Cesare's practice of flattering and then surreptitiously murdering the various ruling families of Romagna and Tuscany.

1. Condivi, *Vita*, ed. Paolo d'Ancona, Milan, 1928, pp. 59ff.

2. Vasari, *Lives*, London, Dent, 1927, IV, p. 114.

3. Letter of Michelangelo to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, Rome, July 2, 1496, published in G. Milanesi, *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, p. 375.

4. Letters of Antonio Maria della Mirandola to Isabella d'Este, Rome, June 27, 1496, and July 23, 1496, published in

Karl Frey, *Michelagnolo Buonarroti, Quellen und Forschungen*, Berlin, 1907, I, pp. 134-137. A good survey of the early history of the *Cupid* is in Frey, *Michelagnolo Buonarroti, sein Leben und sein Werke*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 237-253.

5. See letter of Isabella to Ippolito, Mantua, June 30, 1502, published in Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Florence, 1840, II, pp. 53-54.

Guidobaldo da Montefeltre, on the other hand, had one of the finest art collections in all Italy. In 1489 he had married Elisabetta Gonzaga of Mantua, thus becoming the brother-in-law of Isabella d'Este. Isabella would naturally have seen the *Cupid* at Guidobaldo's court in Urbino, where the arts were highly cultivated. It was here that Piero della Francesca composed his important treatise on perspective, Francesco di Giorgio wrote on architecture, and the artist and poet Giovanni Santi penned his account of renowned artists. Perhaps it was in the elegant surroundings of the palace at Urbino that Isabella d'Este herself became so interested in the arts, for her genuine enthusiasm is readily discernible in her choice collection at Mantua.

Cesare Borgia soon retrieved the *Cupid* he had so generously parted with, for on June 21, 1502, he seized the defenseless city of Urbino and ousted its ruler. Guidobaldo fled to his sister-in-law's palace at Mantua whence he wrote a letter a few days later describing his escape.⁶ Isabella lost no time in attempting to salvage the *Cupid* from Cesare's loot, for the following week, as mentioned above, she wrote to her brother begging his assistance in obtaining the statue. Isabella's pleas were successful, and within the month of July the *Cupid* was sent to her along with an antique *Venus* she particularly prized. In writing to her brother again she says of the *Cupid* that for a modern piece it has no equal.⁷

There seems little doubt that Michelangelo's *Cupid* stayed at the court of the dukes of Mantua for more than one hundred years. The inventories taken periodically between 1534 and 1627 all mention the Carrara marble figure.⁸ Furthermore, the Frenchman De Thou, who traveled through Mantua in 1573, tells a curious, though perhaps apocryphal, story about the *Cupid*. He and his friends were ushered into the magnificent chamber where Isabella's art collection was still kept. There they were shown a *Sleeping Cupid* of marble which they were told was by the hand of Michelangelo. After they had admired it for some time, a silken cloth was removed from a second *Cupid*. To their astonishment it was even finer than Michelangelo's. The guests were then told that when Michelangelo gave his *Cupid* to Isabella (here the story is incorrect, for he had nothing to do with her obtaining the Cupid), he told her that she must always show his *Cupid* first and the antique one afterwards, because in this order the greater merits of the ancient piece could be more easily observed. This extraordinary disclosure is not in keeping with the character usually associated with the artist, who was never noted for his diffidence or humility. On the other hand, it is an appealing story and may serve to illustrate his reverence for the great sculptors of antiquity.⁹

Fifty years after De Thou visited Mantua another foreigner, Nicholas Lanier, came to see the renowned collection.¹⁰ He was sent by His Majesty, King Charles I of England, to procure "some choice pictures" for the royal cabinet. Ever since Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, had stimulated the collecting of antique sculpture by his own efforts in Italy, the costly pleasure occupied the time of many another Englishman, until even the King catered to the new hobby. Lanier, the Master of His Majesty's Music and connoisseur of painting, left England in June 1625 to reconnoiter the Italian art market. He was assisted by the English ambassador, Sir Isaac Wake, who had received instructions from the King to give Lanier "Yo^r best helpe and assistance in directinge him where such Pieces may bee had, procuringe him the viewe of them, and that

6. F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, Stuttgart, 1894, VII, p. 464n.

7. See letter of Isabella to Ippolito, Mantua, July 22, 1502, published in part in Gaye, *op.cit.*, II, p. 54.

8. Carlo d'Arco, *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova*, Mantua, 1857, II, pp. 134, 153ff.

9. *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, depuis le règne de Philippe Auguste jusqu'au commencement du dix-septième siècle* . . . , Petitot (ed.), Paris, 1823, xxxvii (Mémoires de la vie de Jacques-Auguste De Thou,

conseiller d'Etat e président à mortier au Parlement de Paris), pp. 240f.

10. The important documents relating to the purchases from Mantua by King Charles I may be found translated and secreted in the appendix to W. Noël Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers illustrative of the life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, . . . preserved in H. M. State Paper Office, London, 1859, pp. 320ff.; also in A. Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627-28*, Milan, 1913.

then hee may buy them at as easie rates as yo^e can gett sett upon them." Some months later Lanier returned to England and reported his findings to the King. He again set out for Italy in 1627, apparently having been directed to negotiate seriously for paintings. In September 1627 Lanier wrote to the financier Philip Burlamachi asking him to exact an answer from the King as to whether he actually wanted a collection of statues he had previously recommended to the King. This is the first mention of statuary in the existing documents relating to the purchases of Charles I, and seems to show that the King originally had only paintings in mind when he sent Lanier on his mission to Italy.

The reason for the King's hesitation in answering Lanier was undoubtedly the lack of money in the royal coffers. Through mismanagement of state affairs by the Duke of Buckingham, losses by storm in the fleet, and the imminence of war with France, which in fact broke out in June of 1627, Charles had depleted his resources to such an extent that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could obtain any money at all to carry on the war.¹¹ In spite of his predicament the King sent word to Italy that Lanier should obtain the paintings, though nothing was said yet about the sculpture. In April 1628 Lanier sent the paintings by ship to England and he departed by land carrying two valuable Correggio "watercolors."

Through some veiled arrangement a French agent by the name of Daniel Nys acted thereafter in the alleged interests of King Charles at the Mantuan court, but from his correspondence it is evident that his exertions were not always disinterested. Because of the inconvenient war carried on against the Duchy of Montferrat, Vincenzo, the Duke of Mantua, found himself in difficulty and was obliged to raise money by selling many of his choice possessions. This moment appeared propitious to Daniel Nys for purchasing the set of marble statues which had so frequently been mentioned to the King. However, late in the year 1628 Vincenzo died, and the Duke of Nevers came into possession of his belongings.

The war still continued to favor the purchase of art objects, but by now there were other interested parties including the Queen Mother of France and the Duke of Bavaria. Unable to restrain himself, Nys finally bought the statues, before having received permission from the King. It is particularly significant that Nys sent drawings of them to England, as if to urge their purchase. Although his rash operations were questioned in England, credit for buying the works was established in May 1629; and Nys was directed to send them immediately. A year later the money had not been paid to Nys, but settlement must soon have been made for the statues were shipped in October 1630.

This announcement would seem to end the matter, but early in 1631 it was revealed that not all of the promised works of art had been shipped from Italy, and upon inquiry the missing pieces were discovered in the warehouse of Daniel Nys. He explained the matter as follows: "Being assailed by my creditors, who thought to bring me to the ground, I had suddenly opened my coffers and my house to them, and had said, Pay yourselves all, even to the last farthing, which they did. In this general removal and turn out, my people, in a back place, came upon paintings and statues belonging to the King my most gracious Master, at which I was greatly astonished and also rejoiced." One wonders whether they would have been so happily recovered if Nys had not been obliged to empty his warehouse. Amongst the retained pieces were three identified as children (or Cupids) by Praxiteles, Sansovino, and Michelangelo.¹² Nys only too obviously declared his original intention of disposing of these works separately rather than including them in the first

11. Buckingham was ineffectually assisting the Huguenots in the defense of the Isle of Re from the attacking forces of Richelieu.

12. A *Venus*, called by Nys, the "*Venus delli Ely, autres Helène de Troyes*," was also retained by him, and is probably the one now known as the *Lely Venus* at Windsor Castle. It is curious that the first name given to the statue, the *Venus delli*

Ely, should be so close in pronunciation to the name given to it later, namely, *Lely*. The painter, Sir Peter Lely, had obtained the *Venus* at the sale of Charles I's collection and it was returned to the royal collection in 1682. A note near the drawing of this *Venus* in the Windsor drawings calls her "*Elena di Troia*."

shipment to the King when he said, "These three children are above price, and are the rarest things which the Duke possessed."

Several months later the statues were still held by Nys who had further plans for ingratiating the English king. Thomas Rowlandson, secretary to the English ambassador in Italy, who was asked to pursue Nys, wrote soon to England reporting his endeavors. "Concerning his *Matyes* Statue and Pictures, I have been earnest with Mr. Niss to consign them unto me, and although he hath not yett done it, he professes that by the next weeke he will soe dispose that his *Matye* shall see his trew devotion to doe him service, I will attende this few dayes although with impatience not liking his deferring of tyme, having had soe long leasure to consider his dutye to God, and his *Matye* that hath payed double the worth of them. My next I hope will bring unto y Lp (your Lordship) a trew discoverye of the honestye of this man. . . ." At last, in July 1632, the statues were reported to have departed from Venice on their way to England.

The arrival of the several statues is confirmed, though they are not individually identified, by Henry Peacham in the second edition of his *Compleat Gentleman*, 1634. "King Charles also ever since his comming to the Crowne, hath amply testified a Royall liking of ancient statues, by causing a whole army of old forraine Emperours, Captaines, and Senators all at once to land on his coasts, to come and doe him homage, and attend him in his palaces of Saint James, and Sommerset house. A great part of these belonged to the late Duke of Mantua." After King Charles's execution in 1649 his remarkable collection of art was inventoried and sold at auction. The series of sales lasted until 1653, and bids were taken from both private parties and contracting partners. Several copies of the sales inventories have survived, and it is in these that mention is made of the *Cupid*.¹³ Probably the King had displayed his Italian statuary in his apartments at St. James's, for under the list of pieces kept there may be found this item: "A sleeping Cupid leaning his head on his hand." To be sure there are many other Cupids listed, several even called Sleeping Cupids, but only one description contains the additional words indicating that the figure had its hand underneath its head. This attitude corresponds to that described in the letter of June 27, 1496 of the Count della Mirandola to Isabella d'Este where he says it is "a reclining Cupid with his head supported on one hand."¹⁴ If only he had said which hand!

The most difficult problem now arises of determining which, if any, of numerous Cupids still in England and other parts of Europe may be the original by Michelangelo, for there is no record of Michelangelo's *Cupid* after the sale. Attempts have been made by Richter, Symonds, and Konrad Lange to identify Cupids in various galleries and collections with the one by Michelangelo.¹⁵ But these attributions have all been disposed of by such scholars as Wölfflin, Frey, Thode, and Venturi,¹⁶ and no other Cupids have been brought forward since as the original. De Tolnay in the first volume of his *Michelangelo* still records the *Cupid* as lost,¹⁷ but he tries to identify its motif with the little Sleeping Cupid in a painting by Tintoretto, of *Vulcan Surprising Venus and Mars* (Fig. 1). The Cupid's position corresponds to the description of Michelangelo's work.

13. There are copies in the British Museum (Harleian 4898); the Victoria and Albert Museum, with the title *An Inventorie of the Personall Estates of ye late King which was sold by Act of Parliament*; and at Windsor Castle.

14. If this identification is correct, the *Cupid* was sold on October 23, 1651, to a Mr. Ralph Grinder for the small sum of twelve pounds. Since the name Michelangelo was not at this time connected with the piece, one must suppose that for this reason the price was very much lower than it otherwise would have been. Mr. Grinder, who bought many other works as well, was probably a London art dealer. It would be extremely interesting to know the names of his clients.

15. J. P. Richter, "Michelangelo's schlafender Cupido," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XII, 1877, pp. 129-131, 170-174. J. A. Symonds, *Michelangelo*, London, 1899, I, p. 52n.

Symonds here identifies a snake-entwined *Cupid* in a gallery in Turin with that of Michelangelo, but adds that "neither in type nor in handling would any one recognize a work of Buonarroti." One may readily agree. Konrad Lange, "Der Cupido des Michelangelo in Turin," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XVIII, 1883, pp. 233-244, 274-281.

16. A. Venturi, "Il Cupido di Michelangelo," *Archivio storico dell'arte*, I, 1888, pp. 1-13. H. Wölfflin, in a review of K. Lange, *Der schlafende Amor des Michelangelo*, in *Rep. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, 1899, pp. 70-72. Karl Frey, *Michelagnolo Buonarroti, Quellen und Forschungen . . .*, Berlin, 1907, I, pp. 134-137. H. Thode, *Michelangelo. Kritische Untersuchungen . . .*, Berlin, 1908-13, I, pp. 38-43.

17. *The Youth of Michelangelo*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 201-203.



1. Tintoretto, *Vulcan Surprising Venus and Mars* (detail)
Munich, Pinakothek



2. Tintoretto, *Vulcan Surprising Venus and Mars* (detail of preliminary drawing). Wiesbaden, Neues Museum



3. Drawings of Cupid, 8914. Windsor Castle
(By Gracious permission of H. M. The Queen)



4. *Cupid*. Wiltshire, Corsham Court, Collection of Lord Methuen



5. Drawing of Cupid (detail of Fig. 3)



6. Michelangelo, *Madonna and Christ Child* (detail)
Bruges (photo: Alinari)



7. Drawing of Cupid (detail of Fig. 3)



8. Michelangelo, copy after, *Saettatori* (detail). Red chalk drawing, 12778. Windsor Castle, Royal Library (By Gracious permission of H. M. The Queen)



9. *Cupid*. Turin, Accademia delle Scienze (photo: Einaudi)



10. *Antique Cupid*. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)



11. *Cupid*, bronze. New York, Metropolitan (Courtesy Metropolitan)

This identification is strengthened by the fact that Tintoretto is known to have had wax reproductions made for models from other Michelangelo pieces, such as the Medici Tomb figures. Furthermore, De Tolnay has related a preliminary sketch (Fig. 2) of Tintoretto's to this problem which demonstrates that the Cupid was not present in the original conception, but inserted later, as though copied from a model at hand.¹⁸

If De Tolnay is correct in making this identification, then one must consider whether any of several extant Cupids which resemble the Tintoretto child are, in fact, the original. One in particular may reasonably be considered—that in the collection of Lord Methuen of Corsham Court, Wiltshire (Fig. 4).¹⁹ The delicate little figure lies with abandon on a lion's skin which was tossed aside by Herakles while he wooed Omphale. Wings are attached to Cupid's shoulders to speed his conquests, and under his chubby left hand is the deadly torch, all but extinguished, which none can touch with impunity. In a little poem called "Cupid Asleep" by the Latin jurist Modestinus these latter attributes are blended with the theme. According to the brief description in the letter of the Count della Mirandola mentioned above, the *Cupid* should lie, as it does, with its head resting on one hand, and should be four *spanne* (about 79 cm) in length. Actually the Methuen marble measures 75 cm which is sufficiently close since the four *spanne* was only an approximation.

Yet, tempting as this attribution may be, I am forced to conclude that the *Cupid* is not Michelangelo's, and that the position taken by the Cupid in Tintoretto's painting is not that of Michelangelo's original. It will be recalled that drawings of the statues in the Mantua collection were sent by Daniel Nys to King Charles before the statues were shipped to London. These drawings appear to be those still surviving in the Royal Library at Windsor. Here, on a single page of the sketchbook containing drawings of the Italian collection, are the three Sleeping Cupids recorded in the Mantuan inventories (Fig. 3).²⁰ The drawings are in red chalk and wash, done in a manner familiar to seventeenth century Italy, and there are brief notes in Italian. The authenticity of the drawings seems unquestionable.²¹

One of these Cupids must be Michelangelo's, yet none compares favorably with the Methuen *Cupid* whose right arm supports its head, while each of the Windsor Cupids have different poses. If the Methuen *Cupid* can be eliminated, it still must be determined which of the three Windsor Cupids is by Michelangelo.

Though quickly rendered by the unknown Italian artist, the drawings are sufficiently clear to reveal significant differences. For instance, the Cupid at the lower left may be discarded immediately because its head does not rest on either arm. To select one from the remaining two calls for a stylistic analysis. Certainly the Cupid at the upper right (Fig. 5) has affinities with other Michelangelo statues. For instance, the hair compares favorably with that of the Christ Child of the Bruges *Madonna* group (Fig. 6). The fingers spreading to hold an object between them is a motif found in many works including the *Madonna of the Stairs* which was carved a few years before the *Cupid*. The third Cupid (Fig. 7) does not have these nor any other Michel-

18. This relationship was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. De Tolnay. The sketch is pen and wash, highlighted with white, on blue paper. It is dated 1550-1560 by H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrad, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, New York, 1944, pl. 115.

19. I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Stroud for pointing out the Methuen *Cupid* to me; and to Lord Methuen for inviting me to visit Corsham Court and for providing me with photographs of the *Cupid*. The Methuen *Cupid* is very likely a work by Nicolo Roccagliata (active 1593-1633) or one of his Venetian followers. There is a bronze copy in the collection of Alfred Spero, London, which presumably came from the Castiglione Collection; see Leo Planiscig, *Catalogo dei bronzi: Collezione di Camillo Castiglione*, Vienna, 1923, pl. 20.

20. The album in the Royal Library, Windsor, is labeled "Drawings of Statues and Busts that were in the Palace at Whitehall before it was burnt," and the sheet with the Cupids is identified by the Registered Number 8914.

21. Miss A. H. Scott-Elliot kindly located these drawings for me at the Royal Library, Windsor; and I am indebted to her and to Dr. Cornelius Vermeule of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for their corroborating opinions concerning the provenance of these drawings. A. Michaelis seems to have been misled by the title of the folio containing the drawings at Windsor, and did not associate them with the drawings said by Daniel Nys to have been sent to King Charles before the statues were shipped.

angelesque features. It qualifies only in that its head rests upon its hand. Whereas the former has an unusual *contrapposto* position which would have satisfied the master.

Yet it is this third Cupid, numbered 29 on the Windsor sheet, upon which Konrad Lange centers his attention. In an exceedingly long essay he agrees that all three Cupids came from the Mantuan collection; that they lost their respective identities at the Court of Charles I and were considered as antique works; that they can be identified by their descriptions and estimated values as given in the Mantuan inventories; and that the sketchbook at Windsor is a kind of visual inventory of the Whitehall statuary before the great fire of 1698.²² Lange concludes his arguments by identifying the third Cupid (Fig. 7) as Michelangelo's. Although the entangled arguments are ingenious, I cannot help but believe that they are contrived for the purpose of proving that a *Cupid* in Turin (Fig. 9) is the original of Michelangelo.²³ If Lange is right, then we must change radically our conception of the master's style.

More evidence may be given to strengthen the hypothesis that the Cupid numbered 28 (Fig. 5) is, in fact, the authentic Michelangelo. Many years later when Michelangelo drew a group of archers he tucked into the corner of the sheet a little winged sleeping figure (Fig. 8) whose head and arms, though not the legs, are very close in arrangement to those of the Cupid.²⁴ This may be only a coincidence, yet the position is so unusual that the inclination is to see the same mind and hand at work. Finally, the antique *Cupid* of the Medici garden, mentioned earlier, which may well be the one now in the Uffizi Gallery (Fig. 10), is similarly posed and could easily have been the inspiration for Michelangelo's.²⁵ The significance of this point should not be underestimated for it will be recalled that Michelangelo took great pains to "antique" his *Cupid* to make it look as nearly as possible like an actual classic statue. There seems little doubt but that he copied a classical Cupid. Why not the one in the Uffizi, since nothing militates against it having been in Florence since the fifteenth century?

As to the disappearance of the original *Cupid*, I am inclined to believe that it was probably regained after the Commonwealth from the purchaser by means of the power of seizure for the Royal Collection of King Charles II.²⁶ Then it probably perished in the fire at Whitehall Palace in 1698,²⁷ which destroyed so many fine works of art, though not all, for some like the Lely Venus, which is now at Windsor Castle were displayed in the garden;²⁸ and others were stolen during the disorder caused by the fire so vividly described by Macaulay in his *History of England*. The little naked *Cupid* was not a suitable piece for garden decoration. This sketch (Fig. 5) must, then, be valued as the only visual remains of Michelangelo's lost masterpiece.²⁹

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

22. Konrad Lange, *Der schlafende Amor des Michelangelo*, Leipzig, 1898.

23. Frey, *op.cit.*, in referring to the Turin *Cupid* says, "Sie ist vielmehr eine moderne Fälschung, die nun und nimmermehr für Michelagnoli in Anspruch genommen werden darf."

24. A. E. Popham and J. Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1949, catalogue no. 424, p. 248, pl. 20.

25. There is a bronze *Cupid* (length 33⁹/₁₆ in.) at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which is also quite close in form to the Uffizi *Cupid*, but its provenance is unknown (Fig. 11). Miss Richter believes that it may be Greek, 250-150 B.C. See G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1953, pp. 123ff.; and Richter, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1943, XLVII, pp. 365ff. Also in this group may be placed the marble *Cupid* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, illustrated by Richter, *op.cit.*, p. 372, fig. 8. The Medici *Cupid* type is described by the Roman Statyllus Flaccus in a poem called "On Love Asleep," *Greek Anthology*, Loeb ed.,

v, p. 285.

26. In May 1660, immediately after the restoration, a committee was appointed by the King to locate the household effects formerly belonging to his father, Charles I. Shortly thereafter the committee was given the power of seizure which led to the sequestration of a large portion of the original collection. *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Seventh Report*, 1879, pp. 88ff.

27. In George Vertue's inventory of the collection of James II nos. 1249, 1267, 1268 are Sleeping Cupids, presumably those of the Windsor drawing 8914. See *A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, &c., Belonging to King James the Second*, London, 1758, bound in the British Museum inventory of Charles I's collection, pp. 101ff., which is entitled "List of Statues in Marble and Figures in Brass, in Whitehall." This appears to be good evidence that the Cupids were lost in the fire. I am much obliged for information in this and the following note to Dr. Cornelius Vermeule.

28. Other surviving works are probably the following: *Bronze Praying Boy* by Boidas, Berlin, Altes Museum (Windsor 8910b); *Boy Running*, Wilton House (Windsor 8904c).

29. After this article had been submitted for publication, the following was brought to my attention by Professor David Coffin: W. R. Valentiner, "Il cupido dormiente di Michelangelo," *Commentari*, VII, fasc. IV, 1956, pp. 236-248. The author believes that the Turin *Cupid* was saved from the fire of 1698 and somehow returned to Italy; and further, that it is the original by Michelangelo. Its obvious lack of quality he attributes to Michelangelo's desire to copy an antique piece very closely; and he attaches much importance to what he believes are cracks deliberately cut into the *Cupid* at several places and indicating careful antiquing by Michelangelo. Val-

entiner's close observation of the Turin *Cupid* is interesting, and he is probably right in calling it a Renaissance copy, but I see no reason to believe that Michelangelo was the copyist. No other work by Michelangelo, whether copy or original, shows such inferior workmanship. No other work lacks the sensitive, skillful touch of the chisel or the unerring resemblance to a real human figure. The absence of convincing proof by Valentiner of the identity of the Turin *Cupid*, and his lack of supporting documentary evidence, leave me convinced that the Windsor sketch (Fig. 5) is a drawing of Michelangelo's original *Cupid*.



D'ANGIVILLER'S *GRANDS HOMMES* AND THE SIGNIFICANT MOMENT

FRANCIS H. DOWLEY

IN this paper I intend to discuss one aspect of the iconography of a series of statues which were executed in the late eighteenth century. This aspect is the choice of a moment of action which would be significant or meaningful in relation to past or future events. The idea of such a choice was first applied in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to paintings of history when an artist was faced with the selection of a significant moment in the representation of an episode drawn from classical or religious literature. Later in the eighteenth century the idea of the significant moment was developed in the context of Neoclassicism and applied to sculpture as well as to painting. In relating this idea to the statues in question, I propose first to examine the different ways in which the device of the significant moment was applied to monumental portraits of historical figures, and then to survey briefly various formulations of this idea which preceded its application to these statues and to glance at the various manifestations of its influence in the early nineteenth century.

I

Shortly after Louis XVI ascended the throne in 1774, he appointed the Comte d'Angiviller Director-General of the *Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture*. D'Angiviller at once began drawing up a program to raise the painting and sculpture undertaken by the artists of the Academy¹ to what he considered to be a more historical and dignified level. He planned to commission for every salon statues and paintings of great men and significant actions. For the paintings, he selected subjects from ancient and modern times, but for the statues he selected *grands hommes* exclusively from modern French history.²

In an address to the Academy in 1775 D'Angiviller makes it explicit that the works of art he planned were intended not only to increase the dignity of the arts but also to animate virtue and patriotism. He says that, following the king's wishes, "La plupart auroient pour sujet des traits d'histoire propres à ranimer la vertu et les sentiments patriotiques."³ Discussing with J. B. M. Pierre the first group of statues to be exhibited, he says: "Mon dessein étoit aussi de charger quatre sculpteurs de l'Académie d'exécuter chacun pour Sa Majesté une figure de marbre, représentant quelque homme célèbre dans la nation par ses vertus ses talons ou son génie."⁴

The iconographical interest of this project lies less, however, in the selection of virtues and qualities than in the means by which they are expressed and brought into focus.

It is evident that in paintings of historical action the artist is faced with the choice of one out of several important moments in the episode or narrative in which the action occurred. Several

1. For a résumé of D'Angiviller's program and its execution see Marc Furcy-Raynaud, "Inventaire des sculptures exécutées au XVIII^e siècle pour la direction des Bâtiments du Roi," *Archives de l'art français*, XIV, 1927, pp. 399-411.

2. For the documents in which he formulates his ideas about the program, see *Procès-Verbaux de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, 1684-1793*, Paris, 1888, VIII, p. 169, Letters of November 26, 1774, pp. 176-178, January 1775. The surviving documents are not sufficient to enable us to trace a complete formulation of D'Angiviller's plans. We do not even know whether the Director-General had worked out in

advance a long-range iconographical program, or whether he merely selected subjects before each exhibition, leaving much of the detail to his advisers and sculptors to work out.

3. *Procès-Verbaux*, VIII, pp. 176-178.

4. Furcy-Raynaud, "Correspondance du Comte d'Angiviller avec Pierre," *Nouv. Archives de l'Art français (Revue de l'Art français)*, XXI, 1905, pp. 80-81. Letter of March 14, 1776. Pierre, the *premier peintre* was one of D'Angiviller's closest advisers. The first four statues were exhibited at the Salon of 1777, and the same number followed regularly at every Salon until the Revolution broke off the series after 1789.

well-known discussions of the selection of the most significant of these moments had been published considerably before D'Angiviller began his project. Shaftesbury's analysis of possible moments for his ideal picture of the Choice of Hercules was published in 1713,⁵ Richardson's analysis of the Woman Taken in Adultery in 1715,⁶ and Lessing's discussion of the crucial moment in the *Laokoön* in 1766.⁷ There is, however, another discussion which seems to be earlier than any of these although it was not published until 1732. This is the *Discorso* on the painting of Apollo and Daphne by Carlo Maratta which was executed for Louis XIV in 1680.⁸ This discussion appears to come from the immediate circle of Bellori if not from the famous critic himself. But whoever the author, it reflects the more classically minded criticism of the seventeenth century, and indeed this development of the significant moment in Bellori's circle anticipates to some extent eighteenth century treatments of it by such Neoclassicists as D'Angiviller's sculptors. As the aims of Bellori and of the other writers mentioned were, however, by no means the same as those of D'Angiviller, and they were more concerned with history painting than with portrait sculpture, I do not want to discuss them at this point since the problems they raise would lead too far afield from the statues in question.

When these statues representing *grands hommes* of France began to be exhibited in 1777 and in succeeding salons, some of the men portrayed were represented in the more classical and traditional attitudes of habitual repose, but others were not; and it soon became apparent that D'Angiviller has not been content simply with accurate portraits of heroes wearing the costume of their time and accompanied by the attributes of their fame. For some of them at least, he or his advisers selected actions of moral and historic significance similar in kind to those selected for the paintings of history belonging to the same general program.⁹ This program could be called to the attention of the art public for by 1777 it had become the custom to insert in salon catalogues rather elaborate explanations of the moment of action represented in the paintings of history on exhibition, and this practice was now applied to D'Angiviller's statues of *grands hommes*. Thus, a circumstantial explanation is given for the elder Gois' statue of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital in 1777, not to mention that for Houdon's *Maréchal de Tourville* in 1781, and this contrasts sharply with the bare identification given in the catalogue of 1773 for the statues of French generals destined to adorn the *École Militaire*.¹⁰

Houdon's statue of Tourville, in fact, affords an excellent example of the choice of the significant moment, what makes it significant, and the critical reactions to the means by which its significance is expressed (Fig. 1). The notice in the *livret* for the Salon of 1781, at which the statue was exhibited, gives much detail of an historical and nationalistic order not relevant here. Yet even this lengthy explanation was not sufficient to remove all ambiguities and misunderstandings in interpreting the import of the moment selected. "Le maréchal est représenté à l'instant où il

5. Ashley Cooper, Third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Second Characters*, ed. B. Rand, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 34ff.

6. Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, London, 1715, pp. 56-59 (French translation, Amsterdam, 1728).

7. G. E. Lessing, *Laokoön*, Berlin, 1766, chaps. III and XVI.

8. *Vita di Carlo Maratti*, Rome, 1732, pp. 120-124. The full title of the publication reads: *Vita di Carlo Maratti pittore scritta da Gianpietro Bellori fin all'anno MDCLXXXIX continuata, e terminata da altri. Ora pubblicata. Vi è aggiunto un Discorso del medesimo sopra un Quadro della Dafne dello stesso Maratti, dipinto per il Re Cristianissimo Lodovico XIV in cui si fa osservare la conformità tra la Pittura e la Poesia*. The last part of the title is especially interesting. The painting is now in the Musée Royale in Brussels.

9. No document survives which would explain why so much emphasis was placed on representing the *grands hommes* at historic moments of action instead of in attitudes of classic repose. D'Angiviller may have been sufficiently conscious of the tradi-

tional subordination of portraits to a lower level in the hierarchy of genres, especially if the subjects were not antique, to be anxious to forestall the criticism that in attempting to raise the level of sculpture he was succeeding only in overemphasizing the inferior genre of portraiture. Perhaps the most important formulation of the hierarchy of genres, which gives the reasons for the inferior status of portraits, is Félibien's in his *Préface* to the *Conférences de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667*, Paris, 1669. Considerable evidence has been marshaled by Locquin to show that ever since the middle of the century many salon critics attacked what they considered the excessive attention given to portraits. See Jean Locquin, "La lutte des critiques d'art contre les portraitistes au XVIIIe siècle," *Archives de l'art français*, Nouv. Sér. VII, 1913, pp. 309-320.

10. J. J. Guiffrey, "Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions," Paris, 1869-1873, XXVII, *Salon de 1773*, nos. 199, 206, 207, 218.

fait voir au conseil de Guerre la lettre du Roi, qui lui commande de donner le signal d'ordre de bataille. Cette action se passa au mois de Mai 1692, suivant les mémoires de Duc de Barwick. . . ."¹¹

Long as the *livret* explanation is, it assumes a further historical background. During the War of the Grand Alliance, naval operations were decisive in checking Louis XIV's offensive against England. The King had become too impatient to let Tourville wait to attack until reinforcements arrived from the Mediterranean. Tourville was, therefore, ordered to meet the English and Dutch fleets, regardless of their greatly superior strength. Even though the King's command conflicted with Tourville's better judgment, he never hesitated to obey, and the result was La Hogue. The moment chosen is, therefore, doubly significant. Historically, Tourville's resolution to carry out the King's orders sealed the fate of the French navy; ethically, his resolution to obey orders, despite foreknowledge of disaster, set an example of duty for all posterity.¹²

Houdon has represented Tourville at the moment when he informs a war council of the King's orders and of his own resolution to obey them. He is turning in vigorous movement which suggests the effort of control demanded of him to sustain so difficult a resolve. His emotional force is accentuated by the wind-blown effect of his locks and plumes, which also suggests the surrounding sea. Fréron admired the action,¹³ but Bachaumont thought that Houdon had deprived it of that *fermeté tranquille*, which was supposed to be the principal characteristic of the hero.¹⁴ Certainly, his attitude is more tormented than composed. It is significant for the study of contemporary trends that D'Angiviller and Houdon preferred this dramatic attitude to one of classic composure, which would have been equally appropriate both to the occasion and to the resolute character of Tourville. Perhaps action was preferred to a Neoclassic composure in order to make the portrait statue more striking to the imagination in the manner of a contemporary painting of history, and to make the attitude of the statue dramatize the historical event, as if the sculptor wanted to concentrate a painting of history into a single figure of sculpture.¹⁵ Strongly supporting such action in portraiture is a comment made by Diderot, but much earlier, when he was discussing portraits at the Salon of 1763:

Tant que les peintres portraitistes ne me feront que des ressemblances sans composition, j'en parlerai peu; mais lorsqu'ils auront une fois senti que pour intéresser il faut une action, alors ils auront tout le talent des peintres d'histoire, et ils me plairont indépendamment du mérite de la ressemblance.¹⁶

11. *Ibid.*, xxxi, Salon de 1781, p. 45, no. 251. The rest of the passage is an extract from the *Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, Paris, 1778. See I, p. 108. The passage has, however, been edited. In the *livret* the passage extracted reads as follows:

"Le rendez-vous de la Flotte étoit, au mois de Mai à l'hauteur d'Ouessant, mais les vents contraires empêchèrent le Comte d'Estrées, pendant six semaines, de sortir de la Méditerranée avec les Vaisseaux de Toulon; de manière que le Roi, impatient d'exécuter son projet, envoya ordre au Chevalier de Tourville Admiral de la Flotte, d'entrer dans la Manche avec les Vaisseaux de Brest, sans attendre l'Escadre du Comte d'Estrées & de combattre les ennemis forts ou foibles, s'il les trouvoient. Cet Amiral, le plus habile homme de Mer qu'il y eut en France, & peut-être même dans le monde entier, ne balança pas d'exécuter l'ordre qu'il avoit reçu."

In the original text, between the words *le monde entier* and *ne balança pas* the following passage is to be found: "étoit piqué de ce que, la campagne précédente, on avoit voulu lui rendre de mauvais offices à la Cour, & même l'accuser de ne pas aimer les batailles; ainsi il ne balança pas. . . ." This addition puts Tourville's determination to fight in a somewhat different light than the editor of the *livret* would have us believe. If Berwick's information is to be trusted, a desire for personal vindication as well as a sense of duty motivated Tourville's decision to obey the King's orders. One may surmise then that if his sense of duty was reinforced by a personal incentive, his decision to join battle was not so great a moral

triumph as the reader of the *livret* would have at first supposed. The Duke of Berwick, it should be recalled, was the natural son of James II by Arabella Churchill. He served in the land forces supporting the fleet at La Hogue. This decisive naval battle took place in 1692.

12. Assuming of course, that we can be persuaded to discount the rumors, mentioned by Berwick, that Tourville acted from personal motives as well as from a sense of duty. A contemporary biography of Tourville by Adrien Richer was published in Paris in 1783, too late to have influenced the *livret* account of 1781. This biography belonged to Richer's series of *Vies des plus célèbres marins*, and was entitled *Vie du Maréchal de Tourville, lieutenant général des armées navales de France sous Louis XIV.*

13. That is to say, the continuator of Fréron. See the *Année littéraire*, Paris et Amsterdam, 1781, VII, pp. 222-223.

14. Louis Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets, depuis 1762 jusqu'à nos jours*, London, 1783-1789, XIX, p. 316. Letter no. III of October 3, 1781. In this case also it is the continuator, not the original author, who is responsible for the criticism.

15. The execution of the statue actually reminded Diderot of painting: "Le moment choisi est sublime, ce n'est pas de la sculpture, c'est de la peinture, c'est un beau Van Dyck." He admires the elegance and finesse with which the exacting detail of the costume is rendered in spite of the vigorous movements of the body. Diderot: "Salon de 1781," *Oeuvres complètes*, Assézat ed., XII, pp. 67-68.

16. Diderot, "Salon de 1763," *Oeuvres*, X, p. 170.

Thus, in Diderot's opinion, action is necessary to portraits if they are to be worthy of the level of history. This seems to imply that his standard for judging portraits is the same as that for judging paintings of history. It would follow, then, that sculptors should not simply portray *grands hommes*, but represent them in a significant action as well.

To return to Houdon's statue, the *livret* of 1781, however, gives to Tourville's action a temporal context. Tourville is showing the unseen council an order for battle, which must be acted upon even though the ensuing battle will end in disaster. The moment selected by Houdon is, therefore, prior to the battle and even to the decision of the council of war. The choice of an anticipatory moment rather than the moment of battle itself is also characteristic of a tendency of the eighteenth century, and, indeed, makes us wonder if D'Angiviller was influenced by Shaftesbury and Lessing, for both of them preferred a preliminary moment to the moment of action itself. In Shaftesbury's famous construction of his ideal painting on the Choice of Hercules, he conceived of four different moments in the story which culminate in Hercules' final moment of decision. Shaftesbury advises history painters not to choose the final moment but a preliminary intermediate one, which anticipates the decision by suggesting in which direction Hercules' thought is inclining. Lessing, in the *Laokoön*, also favors a moment which is not the climax or culmination of action or emotion, but a previous one which allows further play for the imagination. According to him, the moment of the highest emotional pitch, or, we might say, the height of action, consumes the imagination, allowing it no further free range.

The ideas of Shaftesbury and Lessing leave no doubt that D'Angiviller or his sculptors introduced nothing new with the idea of the moment significant by what it anticipates, but we have no proof that the works of these authors had been read by the Director General.¹⁷ Moreover, a careful reading of the *livret* entry reveals that the idea of anticipation, though implicit, is not stressed, and, in fact, the impending battle of La Hogue is not even mentioned. One feels that the stress is rather on the resolution of Tourville to obey his king regardless of his own misgivings. It could be argued, in fact, that the interpretation of Tourville's action as anticipating the final crisis does not apply to Houdon's statue, because the real crisis is not the external battle which is yet to come, but the present moral struggle in which superior judgment must yield to duty.

In attempting to determine the importance of the element of anticipation intended in the representation of Tourville's moment of action, one might refer to the writings of another critic perhaps better known in France than Shaftesbury and Lessing, namely, Jonathan Richardson. This well-known connoisseur did not base the choice of the moment on anticipation of the future at all. After saying that every historical picture must represent a single point of view, Richardson uses as an example the well-known subject of the Woman Taken in Adultery.¹⁸ Like Shaftesbury in the Choice of Hercules, he distinguishes four moments which might be chosen in the famous encounter between Christ, the woman, and the Pharisees; and like Shaftesbury, he does not advise choosing the final moment, even though he says it is the principal action.¹⁹ Instead, he chooses the third moment, not because it anticipates or points toward the final one, but because it offers the greatest variety of attributes and the strongest contrast of reactions and movement, commensurate with what is graceful and noble. It is perhaps Richardson, then, who influenced D'Angiviller's choice of a moment in the life of Tourville; for, although this moment of action occurs in a context where the element of anticipation is certainly not excluded, it is less consciously introduced and remains more in the background than either Shaftesbury's or Lessing's choice.

It is curious to note a later criticism of Tourville's statue, which forms a kind of appendage to the whole discussion. The famous Neoclassicist critic, Quatremère de Quincy, in a *notice historique*

17. The first French translation of the *Laokoön* was not published until 1802.

18. Richardson, *op.cit.*, p. 59. In this discussion Richardson

does not refer to any actual painting by a known master of the Woman Taken in Adultery.

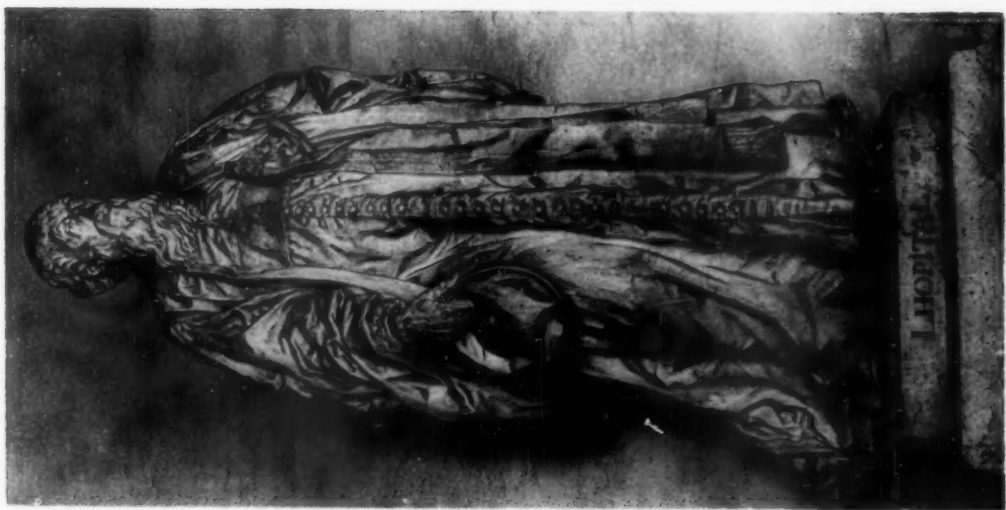
19. *Loc.cit.*



1. J. A. Houdon, *Maréchal de Tourville*. Musée de Versailles
(photo: Giraudon)



2. Claude Dejoux, *Maréchal de Catinat*. Musée de Versailles
(photo: Musée de Versailles)



3. E. P. A. Gois, *Chancelier de L'Hôpital*, Château de Compiègne (photo: Hutin)



4. Pierre Julien, *Nicolas Poussin*. Paris, Institut de France
(photo: Giraudon)



5. Pierre Julien, *La Fontaine*. Paris, Institut de France
(photo: Giraudon)



6. P. L. Roland, *Le Grande Condé*. Musée de Versailles
(photo: Musée de Versailles)

written for the Academy in 1829, the year of Houdon's death, offered an appreciation of the statue which indicates that, far from considering the problem of anticipation, he does not seem to be aware that the moment chosen had any special significance at all. In fact, he gives the impression that he had never even consulted the *livret* to find out what Houdon intended the action of Tourville to signify. Of the intended meaning of Tourville's action for history and morality, Quatremère clearly takes no account when he says:

On croit voir qu'ici, l'idée d'un marin luttant à la fois au milieu de la mêlée contre les efforts des ennemis et des vents qu'il combat peut avoir inspiré à l'auteur de la figure ce qu'on trouve d'agité dans l'aspect et le mouvement de sa pantomime. Certainement, si l'artiste voulut rendre l'effet d'un coup de vent, sa composition est bien servi.²⁰

Problems of a somewhat different type concerning the device of the significant moment are brought into focus by the elder Gois' portrait of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital (Fig. 3), which is described in the Salon *livret* of 1777 in the following manner:

Ce chancelier exilé dans son château, apprenant par ses domestiques que ses ennemis venoient pour l'assassiner, loin de s'émouvoir, commanda d'ouvrir toutes les portes. Ce trait de fermeté a déterminé l'artiste à donner ce caractère à son attitude, à l'expression de son visage.²¹

L'Hôpital was a Huguenot and his life was endangered during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, although he did not die until some time after the occasion described. The incident is significant not only for L'Hôpital as an adherent of a persecuted religion, but as a representative of tolerant government. In the decades preceding the Revolution considerable interest had been taken in him because he had advocated the summoning of the Estates-General and faced many dangers for his disinterested support of that means for consulting the nation. Now that the summoning of the Estates-General was again being demanded, this, at first glance, would seem to be the obvious reason for D'Angiviller's choice of L'Hôpital as a *grand homme*. The interest expressed in him by the Director-General was shared by the heads of another Academy. What is now the Académie Française held a competition for the best *éloge* written in L'Hôpital's honor.²² In fact, the Academy awarded the *Prix d'éloquence* to the Abbé Remy in 1777, the same year that this statue was exhibited in the Salon.²³ D'Angiviller's exhibition of the statue of L'Hôpital, therefore, coincided both with the *éloge* or literary portrait written for the Académie Française, and with the rising agitation for the summoning of the Estates-General. D'Angiviller did not, of course, take part in this agitation in which L'Hôpital served as an historical symbol, but his selection of the chancellor suggests that, unconsciously at least, he was motivated not only by the historical eminence of this *grand homme*, but also by the pertinence of his example to contemporary events.

Perhaps there was another reason, however, in addition to L'Hôpital's advocacy of the Estates-

20. One feels, however, that rendering *l'effet d'un coup de vent* is not what Quatremère de Quincy believed to be the primary task for a sculptor. The costume required for figures taken from national history, not to mention the selection of dramatic moments, led to effects which were too *pittoresque* for the severe Neoclassicist. Antoine Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de notices historiques, lues dans les séances publiques de l'Académie royale des Beaux-Arts à l'Institut*, Paris, 1834, pp. 379-402, esp. p. 396.

21. Guiffrey, *Coll. des livrets*, xxix, pp. 42-43, No. 223. For an account of this event, see the Abbé Deverre, "Les dernières années de Michel de l'Hôpital," *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de Corbeil et du Hurepoix*, 1902, pp. 39-55.

22. *Registres de l'Académie française*, III, p. 415. Abbé Joseph Honoré Remy, *Eloge de Michel de l'Hôpital, discours qui a remporté le prix de l'Académie française en 1777*, Paris,

1777. A discussion of the relationships between the French Academy's series of *éloges* of *grands hommes* of France, which preceded but paralleled D'Angiviller's statues of *grands hommes*, I reserve for later treatment.

23. Although Remy's *éloge* received the *Prix d'Eloquence*, the magistrates of Parlement tried to censure it, because it criticized them for incompetence and for representing the nation less effectively than the Estates-General could do. Rémy had compared them unfavorably with L'Hôpital, characterizing the latter as the champion of the Estates-General, and the Estates-General itself as "le véritable conseil de la nation, le Palladium de ses droits." Pidanzat de Mairobert quotes this approvingly in *L'espion anglais ou correspondance secrète entre Milord Al'Peye and Milord Al'Pear*, London, 1784-1785, in Letter IV, September 29, 1777, VII, pp. 83-102, esp. p. 91. See also *Mercure de France*, October 1777, p. 63.

General which induced D'Angiviller to choose him for commemoration. The director may have felt a certain similarity in moral attitude between the sixteenth century *grand homme* and the contemporary statesman, Turgot, with whom D'Angiviller had close ties.²⁴ A passage in D'Angiviller's *Mémoires* suggests that his admiration for the courage of Turgot at the time of the bread riots in 1775 may be the underlying cause of his selection of L'Hôpital in the act of exposing himself to his executioners. In speaking of Turgot's father, D'Angiviller says the son was not unworthy of him: "lorsqu'en 1775, lors de l'émeute de Paris pour le pain, moi présent, et sa porte assiégée par le peuple il ordonna qu'on l'ouvrit."²⁵ In L'Hôpital's opening of his door D'Angiviller may have seen a parallel to Turgot's courageous stand, of which he had himself been a witness.

It might be thought that in our search to discover D'Angiviller's motives for choosing L'Hôpital we have overlooked the possibility that the description in the *livret* of the pose of a statue as an individual attitude at a particular moment in his career was only a manner of speaking and should not be taken as indicating literally a momentary situation. That contemporary critics did take the idea of the significant moment seriously we can infer from criticism of this statue by Mairobert. He complained that the attitude chosen for L'Hôpital is not really expressive of the moment. "Le sublime de ce héros patriote n'est nullement exprimé sur sa figure qui n'offre que de l'indifférence ou de l'impassibilité."²⁶ He points out as a specific weakness that the left hand of the chancellor is occupied in folding back his gown, which Mairobert regards as a "geste peu noble & surtout à un pareil moment."²⁷ Mairobert criticizes the pose as inappropriate to the moment chosen, although he implicitly accepts the choice of that moment.

In the case of another statue, however, the moment chosen became the object of criticism. The target of this objection was De Joux's plaster model of the statue of Maréchal de Catinat, which was exhibited with that of Tourville at the Salon of 1781 (Fig. 2). The *livret* informs us that "L'artiste a saisi le moment où le Maréchal de Catinat, étant aux plaines de Marsaille, & ayant examiné la position des ennemis, trace à la hâte sur le sable son projet d'attaque, le communique à ses officiers, & remporte après une victoire mémorable."²⁸ Catinat is represented tracing with his sword in the sand the plan of attack a moment before the battle which completed the conquest of Savoy.²⁹ We are presented here with a pregnant moment which precedes more directly the great dénouement than the moment selected for Tourville's statue. Fréron objects, however:

Je crois que défaut essentiel vient du moment que l'artiste a choisi; Catinat est représenté traçant avec son épée sur le sable le projet d'attaque dans les plaines de Marsale & le communiquant à ses officiers un instant avant la bataille; ce trait de la part du Général peut s'échauffer le genre de l'Orateur, mais il n'est point favorable à l'artiste. D'ailleurs un officier général est-il jamais enveloppé d'un manteau lorsqu'il est prêt à combattre!³⁰

Fréron is saying in effect that a moment which may be suitable in one art may not be so in another. On the other hand, it might be said that the moment chosen for Catinat is as appropriate to sculpture as the moment in which Tourville is represented, and to which Fréron did not object. The conception of the two moments is clearly similar, since both imply a dramatic sequence and a dramatic anticipation.³¹

24. For D'Angiviller's friendship with Turgot, see Jacques Silvestro de Sacy, *Le Comte d'Angiviller*, Paris, 1953, chap. XI.

25. *Mémoires de Charles-Claude de Flahaut, Comte de la Billarderie d'Angiviller, Notes sur les Mémoires de Marmontel*, Copenhagen, 1933, p. 63.

26. Mairobert, *op.cit.*, Letter V, November 13, 1777, VII, pp. 119-120.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Guiffrey, *Coll. des livrets*, XXXI, p. 47, no. 270.

29. In 1693, during the War of the League of Augsburg (i.e. of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV). The Marsaille

referred to is Marsaglia in Savoy.

30. Fréron, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 222.

31. Other critics objected, however, not only to the choice of this moment but also to its expression. Bachaumont said that Catinat was supposed to be hastily drawing the plan of attack in the sand, and yet he holds in his hand the plan already traced (*op.cit.*, 1781, XIX, p. 375). This conception of the moment would, therefore, seem to be contradictory, but this point does not appear to be very crucial, since a general who had worked out a carefully detailed plan might be forced, if he were pressed for time, to explain it to his officers by means of a

But Fréron's reference to oratory is not irrelevant because of the possibility that the choice of the moment in the case of Catinat was actually influenced more by an oratorical than by a plastic idea. For La Harpe wrote an *éloge* of Catinat which was delivered before the *Académie Française* in 1775, and which may have had some influence on D'Angiviller or his sculptor. When La Harpe summed up the battle of Marsaglia, he exclaimed: "Quel moment, messieurs, qu'une bataille pour un homme tel que Catinat, déjà familiarisé avec l'art de vaincre, et capable de la considérer en philosophe, en même temps qu'il la dirigeait en guerrier!"³²

It was easier for an orator than for a sculptor to express a union of military prowess and philosophical reflection. Yet we know that this was a combination which appealed to D'Angiviller from one of the few surviving letters that reveal the reasons guiding him in the selection of a *grand homme*. He justifies his choice of Catinat by citing the marshal's eminence in both moral qualities and military abilities: "le Maréchal de Catinat, . . . un général de terre non moins recommandable par ses talens militaires que par son desintéressement, son humanité et son esprit philosophique."³³ There is no evidence as to whether these words reflect those of La Harpe; nor indeed whether D'Angiviller knew Voltaire's definition of a *grand homme* in the *Dictionnaire philosophique*: "Le grand homme est plus difficile à définir que le grand artiste. Dans un art, dans une profession celui qui a passé de loin ses rivaux . . . est appelé grand dans son art, et semble n'avoir eu besoin que d'un seul mérite; mais le grand homme doit réunir des mérites différents."³⁴

Voltaire adds that virtues must be included among a man's qualities if he is to be a *grand homme*. At least one Salon critic, moreover, expounded the idea that an artist should seek to express a combination of different traits: "d'unir sur les mêmes traits deux sentiments compliqués."³⁵ D'Angiviller may have been temporarily influenced by this point of view when he selected Catinat for his combination of distinctive but divergent qualities. Yet in adopting it, the Director-General was putting himself in opposition to another position which was effectively expressed by so important a contemporary artist as Falconet. In defending and explaining his equestrian statue of Peter the Great, he states incisively that a sculptor cannot represent a man under two different aspects precisely because he has only one moment to choose.

Quand on consacre à la mémoire d'un Prince un monument héroïque & que ce prince a fait de grandes choses dans des genres opposés; qu'il a gagné des batailles dans la guerre, qu'il a fait des loix sages, & établissemens utiles au bonheur de ses peuples dans la paix; son éloge académique peut s'appuyer sur deux objets; mais dans une statue qui ne peut représenter qu'un instant, il faut choisir.³⁶

This contrast between the literary and plastic portrait recalls Lessing, and even Caylus.³⁷ The wide range of time at the command of the writer makes possible a portrait of many aspects, but

rough sketch drawn on the ground.

A variation in the use of the significant moment is represented by Bridan's statue of Bayard addressing the sword with which he has just knighted his king, Francis I. In this case the moment points to an action which has just passed, rather than to one which has yet to come. Although some critics, like the author of the *Observations critiques sur les tableaux du Salon de l'année 1787* (Paris, 1787, p. 30), thought the idea of addressing his sword slightly ridiculous, others understood the reference to the past and thoroughly approved of the idea. According to the author of *Ma correspondance* (*Journal de 1787*, p. 583), the statue of Bayard was the most perfect yet to be exhibited: "C'est que M. Bridan modeste & réservé n'a pas voulu représenter le chevalier Bayard; mais plutôt une de ses actions. Il parle à son épée un moment après avoir eu l'honneur d'armer son roi chevalier. . . . (After the victory of Marignano) le monarque voulut recevoir de ses (Bayard's) mains l'ordre de chevalerie. La cérémonie finie Bayard prend son épée, la baise & lui promet fidélité envers son roi."

32. Bernard La Harpe, *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1820, IV, p. 277.

33. Furcy-Raynaud, *Correspondance*, XXI, 1905. Letter of October 5, 1779.

34. Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique* (*Oeuvres complètes*, Garnier Frères, 1878, XIX) under *Grand*. It is equally uncertain whether D'Angiviller knew the Abbé Castel de Saint-Pierre's "Observations pour diriger ceux qui écrivent la vie des hommes illustres" (in *Ouvrages politiques*, IV, Rotterdam, 1738). More pertinent perhaps is his "Discours sur les différences du grand et de l'homme illustre" (in the Abbé Seran de La Tour's *Histoire d'Epaminondas pour servir de suite aux hommes illustres de Plutarque*, Paris, Didot, 1739).

35. *Le frondeur ou dialogues sur le Sallon* [sic] par l'auteur du *Coup-de-Patte et du Triumvirat*, 1785, quoted in George Levitine, "The Influence of Lavater and Girodet's *Expression des sentiments de l'âme*," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVI, 1954, p. 40.

36. E. M. Falconet, *Oeuvres*, Lausanne, 1781, II, p. 190. It is interesting that the famous sculptor's writings were collected for publication at the time of the exhibition of D'Angiviller's statues, which differed so much from the statue of Peter the Great not only in the idea of the moment but also in the use of costume and allegory.

37. Comte de Caylus, *Tableaux tirés d'Homère et de Virgile*, Paris, 1757, p. xxxiii.

the single moment open to the sculptor restricts him to a single aspect. Although Falconet feels this single aspect must be a truly distinctive one, he seems to regard the moment as a limitation rather than as an opportunity.³⁸ He sees it as a restriction on expression, not as a stage for expressing actions pregnant with past and future reflections. On the other hand, Falconet's point of view tends to emphasize the importance of the moment, since one could infer from what he says that it is the necessity of choosing a moment which controls the characterization, not the characterization which controls the selection of the moment.

Concerning the statue of Catinat, the anonymous author of the *Observations générales* of 1783 made a comment on the marble or definitive version which raised a fundamental question regarding the underlying premise Falconet and the other critics took for granted. This author did not ask how a significant moment should be chosen, or whether it was better to express one or more characteristics in a single moment, but whether any moment should be selected at all. He doubted the value of representing a man's career in a single moment. Thus the device of the moment itself was brought into question.

Pourquoi faut-il quand on représente un Héros qui n'a jamais cessé d'être utile à son pays aller choisir un seul instant de sa vie? Il suffiroit de graver son nom sur la plinthe de sa statue: on se rappellera assez en la voyant, tout ce qu'il a fait pour ses Concitoyens; & l'on voudroit ne nous faire souvenir que d'une seule action comme s'il n'avoit été grand qu'en tel jour & à telle heure.³⁹

The same critic complained also about the practice of piling up elaborate accessories and attributes, on the ground that they burden the statue and destroy its simplicity. Finally, he admonished contemporary sculptors to pay less attention to the contemporary theater and more to antique sculpture.⁴⁰

It would be tempting to infer that these comments express the opinion from a later stage of Neoclassicism reacting against the device of an earlier stage borrowed from a discredited Baroque. For even if the fruitful moment originated among classicizing critics of the seventeenth century, its conception might reflect the influence on their thought of the contemporary Baroque. Or one might go further and conclude that these comments reflect a more intensive phase of Neoclassicism which stresses, on the one hand, an ideal of bodily beauty and permanent form, but rejects, on the other, the expressiveness or drama of the significant moment. It would be altogether incautious, however, to draw such conclusions. For while so important a Neoclassicist thinker as Lessing scorned history painting for its excess in expressing the emotions, he emphasized the fruitful moment as a device which could give a restrained expression to the emotions.

That the sculptors of the Academy were, in fact, far from being discouraged by criticism like that in the *Observations générales*, is shown by the use of the fruitful moment in one of the most Neoclassic of D'Angiviller's series. In 1789 Pierre Julien exhibited a statue of Poussin, which obviously resembled a Hellenistic philosopher both in costume and pose, although it was described in the *livret* as representing "ce célèbre Peintre sortant de son lit pour tracer une composition qu'il a médité toute la nuit."⁴¹ This was only the plaster model. When the marble version (Fig. 4) was exhibited much later, at the Salon of 1804, under the First Empire, additional details were introduced giving the sense of a most specific moment: "L'usage à Rome dans la saison des chaleurs est de coucher nu. Le Poussin est censé préoccupé de la composition de son beau tableau du *Testament d'Eudamidas*. Une idée heureuse lui est survenue pendant la nuit, il s'est levé

38. One gathers that this school of thought had more adherents; for example, the *Mercure de France* complained that in doing the statue of the Maréchal de Vauban, the sculptor Bridan did not occupy himself more with the caractère distinctif de leur (Héros) génie (October 1785, p. 39, no. 203). The anonymous author of the *Véridique au Salon*, commenting on Clodion's statue of Montesquieu at the Salon of 1783, criticized severely the mixture of costume and attributes (p.

28). He preferred concentration on the characteristic of the grand homme which really distinguished him.

39. *Observations générales sur le Salon [sic] de 1783 & sur l'état des arts en France*, par M.L**** P****, Paris, 1783, pp. 6-7.

40. *Op.cit.*, pp. 9-10.

41. Guiffrey, *Coll. des livrets*, xxxv, p. 45, no. 228.

précipitamment pour la fixer et s'est contenté de se couvrir de son manteau."⁴² The reference to the identity of the painting which is sketched on the slab Poussin is holding gives this example of the artist's habits of work an approximate date and a particular occasion.

Thus Julien seems to emphasize a specific moment although this later version is even more antique in style than the earlier one. The statue shows indeed the adaptability of the fruitful moment to statues where classical restraint is stressed rather than demonstrative action.

II

Except for the statue of Poussin, the examples of monumental portraits we have examined so far represent warriors, statesmen, or men of action. The application of the significant moment to less active types of *grands hommes* would not appear at first sight to be very appropriate. To evoke a moment of historic action seems hardly a good way to characterize men of letters whose fame rests not on such moments at all but on works of contemplation often produced over a long period of time. Even the more specific account in the 1804 *livret* of the statue of Poussin indicates that the idea of the moment undergoes some modification when applied to a *grand homme* who is not a man of action. Yet in one instance at least, namely the statue of La Fontaine, the device proved eminently adaptable (Fig. 5). Pierre Julien also designed this statue, which proved to be one of the most successful of the whole series. First exhibited at the Salon of 1783,⁴³ it represents the poet seated and bent over in meditation, unlike the warriors and men of affairs, who are all represented standing as if ready to engage in action. Although the figure of La Fontaine is carved in an habitual attitude of reverie, he is represented at a specific moment in his career. The *livret* gives an account of the incident. "La Fontaine travailloit partout où il se trouvoit. Un jour la Duchesse de Bouillon allant à Versailles le vit le matin rêvant sous un arbre du course & l'y trouva le même soir au même endroit & dans la même attitude. L'artiste a cru devoir saisir ce moment."⁴⁴

When Bachaumont read this, it reminded him of Madame de La Fayette's famous *mot* on the manner in which La Fontaine wrote his fables. "Le bon homme, ainsi que Boileau & Racine appelloient La Fontaine, est rendu ici dans toute sa vérité. Il a cette immobilité, cette végétation insensible du fablier qui, suivant la comparaison de Mme de La Fayette, produisoit des fables, comme un pommier produit des pommes."⁴⁵ The capacity of La Fontaine to muse undistracted in the midst of wild nature is suggested by the presence of the fox which stands on the poet's hat and peeks up at him. The fox obviously also refers to the fable of *Le renard et les raisins*, which La Fontaine is in the process of composing as he sits in the shelter of a grape vine. In fact, the poet is represented writing the title of this fable, which is inscribed on the scroll lying across his knees.⁴⁶

The incident described in the *livret* and suggested by the absorbed attitude of the poet seems to be derived from Monthenault d'Egley, who wrote a Life of La Fontaine as an introduction to an important edition of the *Fables* published from 1755 to 1759. Monthenault relates the incident in a little more detail as an illustration of the poet's indifference to his surroundings while absorbed in work.⁴⁷

42. "Salon de 1804," No. 642. Poussin's *Testament of Eudamidas* was executed between 1644 and 1648. It was formerly in the Moltke Collection in Copenhagen.

43. Guiffrey, *Coll. des livres*, xxxii, no. 234. The plaster model is now at the Musée du Puy (no. 37 of the Catalogue of 1872). For the sketch of the statue see Mlle Gagne's article entitled "Esquisse de La Fontaine, Musée de Château-Thierry," *Bulletin des Musées de France*, 1929, I, p. 260.

44. Guiffrey, *loc.cit.*

45. Bachaumont, *op.cit.*, xxiv, p. 42, Letter no. III, 1783.

Who really made this *mot* is a matter of dispute. Voltaire, in his *Dictionnaire philosophique*, under the word "Fable" attributes it to Mme de la Sablière, but using *prunes* instead of *pommes*. Titon du Tillet in *La Parnasse française* (1732 ed., p. 462) attributes it to Mme Cornuel. Others attribute it to Mme de Bouillon, as d'Olivet points out in his *Histoire de l'Académie française*, I, p. 317.

46. See André Pascal's articles on Julien in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, xxix, 1903, p. 335.

47. Charles Philippe de Monthenault d'Egley, "Vie de La

It is less important for our purposes to determine whether or not D'Angiviller really derived the idea of the incident from Monthenault than to appreciate the different use to which Julien has applied the idea of the moment. Far from being represented at a crucial moment, La Fontaine is shown at a moment which, though trivial in itself, reveals much about him—his character as a dreamer, his way of composing, and his imperviousness when absorbed in poetic meditation.

In using this type of moment, one which suggests character more than action, Julien or D'Angiviller was adapting an old idea which had already been formulated in classical antiquity. In D'Angiviller's time, the idea of a moment unimportant in itself but significant of a man's character, had been receiving renewed attention because of contemporary interest in Plutarch who had perhaps given this idea the best formulation it had received in antiquity:

The evidence of a virtuous or a vicious disposition is not always or absolutely to be found in a man's most conspicuous deeds. Often some slight incident, some unspoken word, some jest portrays the character more truly than do successes in bloody fights, in the mightiest of pitched battles or in the beleaguering of cities, etc.⁴⁸

Eighteenth century interest in Plutarch, already active before D'Angiviller's time, was heightened by the rising interest in the history of France and her *hommes illustres*. The obvious analogy between writing lives of famous Greeks and Romans, and writing lives of famous Frenchmen was seized upon by writers like Turpin for his *La France illustre ou le Plutarque français*,⁴⁹ which was published in three volumes from 1775 to 1780, at the time D'Angiviller was launching his series.

To find an idea comparable to that expressed above by Plutarch, we need search no further than Monthenault's *Vie de La Fontaine* which relates the incident of the poet meditating all day long under a tree. At the beginning of the biography, Monthenault says:

Pour bien connaître les hommes c'est dans leur vie privée, dans leurs actions les plus simples & les plus naturelles qu'il faut les prendre . . . il n'est point de légers détails qui ne soient intéressans [*sic*] & qui ne caractérisent une partie essentielle de ce qu'ils sont. C'est ce qu'a reconnu La Fontaine en nous donnant la vie d'Esope. Je ne scaurois [*sic*] mieux faire, en écrivant la sienne, que de suivre son exemple. En effet soustraire les petites circonstances de la vie d'un Homme illustre, c'est à mon avis dérober un plaisir véritable aux lecteurs curieux & les priver des moyens les plus sûrs de bien démêler ce qu'il fait.⁵⁰

It is significant that Monthenault finds the inspiration for his circumstantial biography not in Plutarch but in La Fontaine himself. If it was La Fontaine's own method to choose simple but revealing incidents, then Julien, in choosing such an incident, has not only characterized La Fontaine in an intimate portrait, but has employed La Fontaine's own method of characterization to do so.

It must be recognized, however, that La Fontaine was not the first in modern times to conceive of an intimate circumstantial biography, because Montaigne had already had the idea in the late sixteenth century. This is pointed out by the *Journal de Trevoux* in its review of the second edition of the *Galerie française*, which was illustrated by Gautier-Dagoty and published in 1771.

Nous citons Montaigne parce que les Gens des Lettres qui travaillent à ces Vers, le citent eux-mêmes en rendent compte de la manière dont ils ont cru devoir représenter chacun des personnages qui doivent

Fontaine," which precedes the *Fables choisies en vers*, Paris, 1755-1759, I, pp. xix, illustrated by Oudry.

"Cette indifférence alloit en lui jusqu'à l'insensibilité. Un jour Madame de Bouillon allant à Versailles, le recontra le matin qui revoit seul sous un arbre du Cours. Le soir en revenant, elle le retrouva dans le même endroit & dans la même attitude, quoiqu'il fit très froid & qu'il n'eut cessé de pleuvoir toute la journée.

"C'est ainsi que travailloit souvent La Fontaine; tous les

endroits lui étoient bons & indifférents. Il n'eut jamais de cabinet particulier, ni de bibliothèque."

48. Plutarch, *Lives, the Translations called Dryden's corrected from the Greek and revised by A. H. Clough*. Boston, 1864, p. 159.

49. F. H. Turpin, *La France illustre ou le Plutarque français contenant l'histoire des généraux, des ministres, des magistrats*, Paris, 1775-1780.

50. Monthenault d'Egley, *op.cit.*, p. ix.

entrer dans leur recueil. Pour cela, ils les considèrent dans les actions de la vie privée; c'est là, observent-ils qu'on peut apprendre plus sûrement à juger les hommes; comme ils ne représentent point alors & que sans aucun intérêt pour se déguiser, ils paroissent à découvert, il est plus facile de les apprécier.⁵¹

The authors of the *Galerie* quote the following passage from Montaigne:

Or ceux qui écrivent les Vies, d'autant plus qu'ils s'amusement plus aux conseils qu'aux événemens, plus à ce qui se passe au dedans, qu'à ce qui se passe au dehors; ceux-là sont plus propres; voilà pourquoi en toutes sortes c'est mon homme que Plutarque.⁵²

Montaigne's admiration for Plutarch extended to Amyot's famous translation, to which he devotes a chapter in his essays.⁵³

It is possible that D'Angiviller was familiar with the following advice given to historians by René Rapin concerning the composition of historical portraits:

But it is a Masterpiece, to hit that Resemblance, which consists only in singular and imperceptible Features which alone express nature, and which one hardly meets with, unless he searches the hearts and unwraps all their folds, that he may well know what is hidden.⁵⁴

Although Rapin made no reference here to revealing incidents, still he placed emphasis on internal nature and the unusual recesses of character imperceptible to the public eye. In this way he anticipated the ideas of Rousseau on historical portraits. What this celebrated writer says is all the more pertinent to D'Angiviller's program because, according to his own *Mémoires*, he admired and defended Rousseau,⁵⁵ and, according to Chamfort at least, even went so far as to say *Erit ille mihi semper deus*.⁵⁶

Rousseau censured modern historians for dealing only with external facts like names, places, and dates, or for delineating *hommes illustres* only when they were wearing their *vêtements de parade*. He complained in effect that modern historians chose the wrong kind of moment, that is, one in which externals of attitude and attire were more important than the man himself.

Elle [l'histoire] n'expose que l'homme public qui s'est arrangé pour être vu; elle ne le suit point dans sa maison, dans son cabinet, dans sa famille, au milieu de ses amis; elle ne le peint que quand il représente; c'est bien plus son habit que sa personne qu'elle peint . . . tous les détails familiers et bas, mais vrais et caractéristiques, étant bannis du style moderne les hommes sont aussi parés par nos auteurs dans leurs vies privées que sur la scène du monde.⁵⁷

Rousseau also pointed to Plutarch as a model from whom modern historians could learn to depict a man as he was in his characteristic and familiar surroundings rather than when he was *en parade* before the world.

Rousseau analyzes Plutarch's type of historical portrait and discusses it as if Plutarch were a painter.

Il excelle par ces mêmes détails dans lesquelles nous n'osons plus entrer. Il a une grâce inimitable à peindre les grands hommes dans les petites choses; et il est si heureux dans le choix de ses traits que souvent un mot, un sourire, un geste lui suffit pour caractériser son héros. . . . Voilà le véritable art de peindre. La physionomie ne se montre pas dans les grands traits, ni le caractère dans les grandes actions; c'est dans les bagatelles que le naturel se découvre. Les choses publiques sont trop communes ou trop apprêtées, et c'est presque uniquement à celles-ci que la dignité moderne permet à nos auteurs de s'arrêter.⁵⁸

51. Jean-Baptiste Gautier-Dagoty, *Galerie française ou portraits des hommes et des femmes célèbres qui ont paru en France, gravé en taille-douce par les meilleurs artistes conduite de M. Restout . . . avec un abrégé de leur vie*. Paris, 1st ed., 1770. 2nd ed., 1771. This quotation from the "Préface des Auteurs," p. 3, of the 2nd ed. The authors are anonymous.

52. Michel de Montaigne, *Essais*, Paris, 1874, I, pp. 382-383 (Bk. II, chap. x).

53. Jacques Amyot, *Les vies des hommes illustres de Plutarque, traduction*, Paris, 1559.

54. René Rapin, *The Modest Critick, or Remarks upon the Most Eminent Historians*, London, 1689, XI, p. 88.

55. D'Angiviller, *Mémoires*, pp. 33, 46.

56. In a letter to Rousseau, Chamfort quotes a letter he received from D'Angiviller which contains this Latin citation. *Correspondance générale de J. J. Rousseau*, Dufour ed., Paris, 1929, XI, p. 350.

57. J. J. Rousseau, *Émile* (1st ed., 1762) in *Oeuvres complètes*, II, p. 547.

58. *Ibid.*

One wonders if Rousseau would have favored D'Angiviller's use of the significant moment to express the character of *grands hommes* of action, as exemplified in the statues of Tourville and Catinat. Rousseau might well have shared the opinion of some critics that too much emphasis was placed on the details of historic costumes worn by D'Angiviller's *grands hommes*. Yet contemporary historic costumes were necessary to suggest atmosphere. Rousseau's approach to the portrayal of *grands hommes*, which eschews all that is external, brings us back to the problem of how a *grand homme* should be represented, and indeed, of how one should be defined. But the definition of a *grand homme* leads to philosophical problems in eighteenth century thought too general for consideration here. It would be more apropos perhaps to survey briefly the idea of the significant moment as it appears in portrait criticism just previous to and immediately following it—that is, during the late seventeenth century and early nineteenth. In this way we would gain a little perspective on the expression of the significant moment in D'Angiviller's statues.

III

We have pointed out that the idea of the significant moment was already well established both in theory and in practice before D'Angiviller launched his program although he can perhaps claim some originality in applying it to monumental portrait sculpture. Without attempting to trace its origins, I shall briefly discuss formulations of the significant moment by two seventeenth century artists, Nanteuil and Bernini, and then outline certain general theories on this subject which, though more concerned with history than with portraiture, may well have influenced the latter. With this background in mind we can proceed to eighteenth century French formulations which point the way to D'Angiviller's use of the idea of the moment.

When Bernini, according to Chantelou's *Journal*, was working on the bust of Louis XIV during his famous trip to Paris in 1665, he made various comments on how portraits should be approached. While carving the mouth in the king's portrait, he remarked: "pour réussir dans un portrait, il faut prendre un acte et tâcher à le bien représenter; que le beau temps qu'on puisse choisir pour la bouche est quand on vient de parler ou qu'on va prendre la parole; qu'il cherche à attraper ce moment."⁵⁹ The idea of the pregnant moment signifying the future or the past is already implicit in this statement.

The famous portrait engraver, Robert Nanteuil, who had met Bernini, spoke of portraits as representing a moment in time: "Les portraits doivent être censés faits en un instant puisqu'ils ne représentent qu'un instant, qu'on les juge en un instant."⁶⁰

In his discussion of means for enlivening the personality of the sitter, Nanteuil describes how he would provoke an instantaneous reaction as a device for revealing his sitter's most expressive psychological attitude: "Le brio ordinaire de l'homme se reconnaît en un instant, lorsque vous l'appellez, par exemple, et qu'il se retourne. Observez en cet instant rapide le mouvement de son corps et surtout sa physionomie, c'est précisément celle qu'il faut donner son portrait."⁶¹

This device is very important for the study of at least one type of French seventeenth century portrait, since it seems to imply that it is the sudden concentrated revelation of a fortunate moment rather than a lengthy, detached study, which reveals to the artist the life of a personality. But Nanteuil's conception of the pregnant moment is not quite the same as that which D'Angiviller's sculptors developed. Nanteuil seizes the moment not for its biographical implications, nor for

59. Paul Fréart, seigneur de Chantelou, *Journal de voyage du Bernin en France*, September 4, 1665, Ludovic Lalanne, ed., Paris, 1885, p. 133.

60. Domenico Tempesti, *Conseils de Robert Nanteuil pour l'exécution des portraits au pastel*, published by Charles Lorient in his *Robert Nanteuil, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Reims, 1886,

pp. 86-87. Lorient is almost the only historian who does not abridge Tempesti. Nanteuil died in 1678. For reference to Nanteuil's portraits and to his visits to Bernini, see Chantelou, *op.cit.*, pp. 151, 180.

61. Chantelou, *loc.cit.*

the sense of a critical turning point, but rather as an opportunity to penetrate character. Perhaps the most striking example of a device used to arouse a sitter to reveal his personality in a momentary flash is to be found in the Marquis de Vielleville's description of the sitting granted Houdon by Voltaire after his triumphal return to Paris in the year of his death, 1778.⁶² To stimulate at least for a moment the old vitality in the decrepit *philosophe*, and to overcome his weariness and impatience, the young nobleman suddenly went up to his chair to place on his head the laurel wreath with which he had been crowned in the recent triumphal ceremony at the Comédie Française. Voltaire's response was immediate and gave Houdon a moment to seize the flash of animation on his countenance.

Turning briefly to the idea of the moment as it had been developed in seventeenth century outside portraiture, we should glance at what Henri Testelin said about the significant moment in paintings of history. According to him, the idea of the subject must be comprehensible *tout d'un coup* by the spectator. To accomplish this the painter must restrict himself to two other unities, "ce qui arrive en un seul temps; ce que la vue peut découvrir d'un tableau."⁶³ This is a case of the transference of the Aristotelian doctrine of the three unities from the drama to the painting of history, and its modification in the direction of limiting focal action to a single moment of time.

We have said that the classicist Bellori, or whoever in his circle was the author of the *Discorso*, was one of the first to introduce the idea of the significant moment,⁶⁴ although his use of it was very different from that of D'Angiviller. Bellori uses it to show how conformity is possible between painting and poetry. In examining Maratti's *Apollo and Daphne*⁶⁵ he points out how the artist has contrived, without loss of unity of action, to suggest the same past and future incidents which Ovid relates in his account of the legend in the *Metamorphoses*. D'Angiviller is not interested, however, in demonstrating the principles of *ut pictura poesis*, so he uses the fruitful moment for quite a different purpose—namely, to suggest historic turning points in the lives of great French heroes.

We will perhaps find a more pertinent source in some remarks made by Jonathan Richardson about what we might call a "biographical moment" in portraiture.

If there be anything particular in the History of Person which is proper to be expressed, as it is still a farther description of him, it is a great improvement to the portrait to them that know the Circumstances. There is an Instance of this in a Picture Van Dyck made of John Lyvens, who is drawn as if he were listening to something: which refers to a remarkable story in that Man's Life.⁶⁶

The portrait in question belongs to the *Iconography*,⁶⁷ Van Dyck's famous series of portraits of contemporaries. The event in the life of Jan Lievens to which Richardson refers is probably that told by Houbraken, who says that Lievens was an artist so absorbed in his work that, even during a great insurrection in Leiden when burghers and soldiers were fighting with each other, he continued to paint though within earshot of the tumult.⁶⁸ The attitude of listening in which Van Dyck represents him could, therefore, be interpreted as suggesting Lievens' indifference to the nearby clamor, although it must be confessed this is not perhaps the most obvious interpretation.

Richardson's advice to select from a man's biography a significant moment which reveals his

62. Quoted in E. Biddle and C. H. Hart, *Jean Antoine Houdon*, Philadelphia, 1911, pp. 33-35.

63. Henri Testelin, "Expression générale et particulière," Henri Jouin, *Conférences de l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Paris, 1883, p. 154. The *discours* was delivered before the Academy on June 6, 1675.

64. Bellori, *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 122-124.

65. Begun in 1679, it can be traced in the *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome*, Paris, 1887, I, pp. 85ff., 103-104.

66. Richardson, *op.cit.*, pp. 98-99.

67. Van Dyck's *Iconography* was begun about 1630 and

published posthumously in 1645 in Antwerp by Gillis Hendrickx. The portrait of Lievens which it includes does not show him raising his hand to his ear, but turning his head as if he might be listening. The print is by Vörstermann, but the painting itself is lost. See Franz Wibirail, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine Van Dyck d'après les recherches d'H. Weber*, Leipzig, H. Danz, 1877, no. 85, p. 105.

68. Arnold Houbraken, *De Groote Schouburgh der nederlandsche Konstschilders en Schilderessen*, übersetzt von Alfred von Würzbach, in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna, 1880, XIV, pp. 129-130.

character is clearly related to the criteria of selection used by Bellori and Shaftesbury, but it is much less complicated. Richardson says no more about the moment being chosen because it pointed to the past or the future than he did in his example of the Woman Taken in Adultery.

Richardson's conception of the biographical moment may not have that sense of intimacy which is expressed in Julien's portrait of La Fontaine, but it has another aspect, to which it is interesting to relate his ideas of the moment. When he says "to sit for one's portrait is to have an Abstract of one's Life written and published and our selves thus consign'd over to Honor or Infamy,"⁶⁹ we are struck by the phrase "an Abstract of one's Life," which makes us wonder if he meant a portrait to be a summation of one's whole biography rather than any single moment in it. The question also arises, however, whether "an Abstract of one's Life" might be a moment chosen less for its possibilities as a dramatic turning point than for what it might offer as a summing up of the person represented. The evidence of the text does not, however, permit this inference to be more than a speculation; yet, as we shall see, it seems to anticipate some later developments.

In France, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Roger de Piles applied to portraits slightly earlier than Richardson a general theory of the moment but from a different point of view. He did not conceive what he calls the *bon moment* either biographically or dramatically. But if he does not exclude these aspects, his theory of the *bon moment* is not only wider in range, it is basic to his conception of the imitation of nature.

L'imitation est l'essence de la Peinture [he says in his first basic axiom on portraiture] & le bon choix est à cette essence ce que les vertus sont à l'homme, il en relève le prix. C'est pour cela que le Peintre a grand intérêt de ne choisir que des têtes avantageuses ou de bons momens & des situations qui suppléent au défaut d'un beau naturel.⁷⁰

The *bon moment* is the guide to imitation and the means of selecting what is to be imitated. The choice of *bons momens* and *bonnes situations* replaces the *beau naturel*, especially when the subject of a portrait is an illustrious man. For, De Piles maintains, portraits of those about whom posterity would inquire form a special class and, because of their historical importance, exacted the closest imitation of physiognomy, whether ugly or beautiful.⁷¹ De Piles leads us to the slightly paradoxical position, therefore, that the very persons—perhaps the only persons—deserving of idealization are the very ones who must never be idealized. Exacting imitation does not, however, mean indiscriminate imitation. Even if the resemblance must be as close as possible, some choice is not excluded, since an individual appears different at different moments. The problem becomes a matter of selecting for imitation the moment during which he appears at his best. Strict imitation does not, therefore, exclude discriminating selection when it is a question of catching the moment of *bon air* and the *bonne grâce* of an illustrious personage. "Mais de quelque manière qu'agisse le Peintre, qu'il n'oublie jamais le bon air, ni la bonne grâce, & qu'il y a dans le naturel des momens avantageux."⁷²

For portrayal of the illustrious, therefore, De Piles' theory seems to anticipate D'Angiviller's program in two respects. There is an obvious similarity between De Piles' insistence on exact imitation of every aspect and D'Angiviller's emphasis in his statues on faithful likeness, not only facial, but also in the details of contemporary costume. De Piles anticipates to a lesser extent D'Angiviller's use of the moment because he stresses merely the advantageous moment instead of the moment of dramatic action expressed in D'Angiviller's statues.

The idea of the advantageous moment persisted in French portrait criticism and we find it in the writings of Diderot, Watelet, and Tocqué.⁷³

69. Richardson, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

70. Roger de Piles, "Les Portraits," *Cours de peinture*, 1708, p. 261.

71. *Op.cit.*, p. 270.

72. *Op.cit.*, p. 261.

73. Louis Tocqué, *Réflexions sur la peinture et particulièrement sur le genre de portrait*, pub. par le comte Arnaud Doria, *Tirage du Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*,

Diderot follows the position of the Academy, formulated by Testelin, that a painting must have only one action, "il ne lui est pas permis d'embrasser plus que deux instants." Exceptions he admits sparingly, "il y a seulement quelques circonstances où il n'est ni contre la vérité, ni contre l'intérêt de rappeler l'instant qui n'est plus, ou d'annoncer l'instant qui va suivre."⁷⁴ In considering the passions which an action occasions, he allows that the single moment of action may reveal traces of passions from the preceding moment,

Cependant, comme sur un visage où régnait la douleur et où l'on a fait peindre la joie je trouverai la passion présente confondue parmi les vestiges de la passion qui passe; il peut aussi rester, au moment que le peintre a choisi, soit dans les attitudes, soit dans les caractères, soit dans les actions, des traces subsistantes du moment qui précède.⁷⁵

Diderot is very dependent here on Shaftesbury but less concerned to suggest past or future moments which are distinct from the present moment represented. He seems to allow the effects of preceding moments only as they enrich or complicate the present moment. Nevertheless he does think in terms of the moment, and makes one feel that he does not always isolate the moment selected from its temporal context. This is because painting and the drama are often closely associated in his mind, as in the famous passage in *Dorval et Moi*, where the former says: "Je pense, pour moi, que si un ouvrage dramatique était bien fait et bien représenté, la scène offrirait au spectateur autant de tableaux réels qu'il y aurait dans l'action de moments favorables au peintre."⁷⁶ The *moment* is thus for Diderot a link between the drama and painting as it was for Testelin. If we recall Diderot's advocacy of action in portraits, and consider his conception of the moment as being charged with the mingling of past and present emotions, we can see that he goes considerably beyond De Piles in emphasizing the moment's dramatic character. De Piles appears more concerned with presenting a *grand homme* in an advantageous appearance and attitude than in an action which would stir the spectator's imagination or moral feelings. Diderot, therefore, seems closer to D'Angiviller; but even so, he does not particularly emphasize the biographical aspect of the moment. For that, we must turn to Watelet, who says in his *Dictionnaire des Arts*: "Quoique l'expression du calme de l'âme soit celle qui convient généralement aux portraits, on peut dans la représentation connue exprimer une passion qui la caractérise ou celle qu'elle a du éprouver dans un moment important de sa vie & qui caractérise ce moment."⁷⁷

This passage suggests that Watelet connects the *moment important* more directly with the expression of characteristic passions than Richardson, or even Diderot, does. The biographical moment can be regarded as a staging device or vehicle which a portrait artist uses for expressing active emotions of an individual instead of representing him in a state of calm. It is interesting that Watelet, writing late in the century, says the latter method is more generally appropriate; for one tends to regard the expression of the passions by means of the biographical moment as a Baroque approach, and the expression of calm by means of an habitual attitude as a classic one. That D'Angiviller includes both kinds in his statues suggests that his program marks a transitional stage between the two movements.

Somewhat later we find A. L. Millin in his *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts*, which was published in 1806,⁷⁸ making a similar distinction between portraits of action and of repose. The former he regards as a kind of portrait *historié*, but he says that the latter is better for making us see the *ensemble du caractère*. The limiting factor in the portrait of action is precisely that it is conditioned

1929. Published separately in Paris, 1930. Presented as a *discours* to the Academy on March 7, 1750. Tocqué does not, however, add anything essentially new to the idea of the moment.

74. Diderot, *Essai sur la peinture*, p. 497.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 499. Diderot's conception of a present passion revealing traces of a preceding one is very probably derived

from a passage in Shaftesbury's *Second Characters*, Ed. Rand, p. 37. Published in French in 1712.

76. "Dorval et Moi," *op.cit.*, VII, p. 95.

77. C. H. Watelet and P. C. Levesque, *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture & gravure*, Paris, 1792, X, p. 154.

78. III, p. 353.

by what is momentary or *passager*. The expression of the moment of action is too transitory to be that which a person wears habitually. "On peut donc dire que dans un cas semblable on n'auroit que le portrait momentané de la personne dans une situation donnée."⁷⁹

This objection reminds us of Rouquet's criticism of momentary effects in portraiture. In his *L'état des arts en Angleterre*, which he published in 1755, Rouquet said: "Il seroit aisé de donner plusieurs exemples de l'absurdité de l'introduction des attitudes instantanées dans le portrait. Le sourire, par exemple, seroit désagréable dans la nature s'il étoit perpétuel."⁸⁰ But Rouquet does not give his opinion of the case where the smile is introduced not simply for its own sake, but as the characteristic reaction of the individual in an important moment in his career.

On the other hand Millin, who does consider this sort of case, feels that any momentary situation is too transitory and therefore too limited to give the *ensemble du caractère*. His idea of an *ensemble* does not, therefore, connote for him the temporal or biographical element which seems to be implied in Richardson's notion of "an Abstract of one's Life." Millin appeals to the ancients, and claims that perhaps as a result of this consideration they almost invariably represented the persons of whom they made *statues-portraits* in an *attitude tranquille*. However, he was by no means biased, and readily admitted that action can reveal true character: "Il est vrai cependant que le véritable caractère d'une personne peut se montrer quelquefois dans le jour le plus favorable pendant une certaine action: dans ce cas le peintre fera bien de choisir une pose historiée."⁸¹ Millin clearly realized, therefore, that the problem of the moment in portraiture could be considered as an aspect of the problem of choosing between attitudes of action or repose. The assumption that the ancients preferred repose in portrait statues suggests how far D'Angiviller was from an ideal of classic repose when he preferred portrait statues in action. But then he was not alone in this. Diderot had also preferred action in portraits on the ground that it was action that made portraiture worthy of history painting. One perceives, therefore, that in some cases the supposed ideals of antiquity and those of history painting did not always lead in the same direction. The notion of the fruitful moment sharpened, of course, the difference between portrait statues like those commanded by D'Angiviller and those representing what was perhaps the most important if not the only tradition of classical antiquity, namely, repose and permanence. It may be said, however, that the repose generally attributed to the classical past by Millin would have to be qualified in view of such famous Greek statues as the *Laokoön* with its strikingly active poses.⁸² Moreover, D'Angiviller could find support in other eighteenth century commentators, who were far from assuming that repose was essential to the best antique sculpture. For example, Joseph Spence claimed that "all the best statues are represented as in some action or motion."⁸³

A little later, the younger D'Argenville, in making a comparison between sculpture and painting, maintained that the sculptor, with far fewer resources than the painter and with more limited means of communication could express himself only by action.

Privé du secours des épisodes qui sont au moins rare & en petit nombre pour aider à l'intelligence & à l'intérêt du sujet, le sculpteur ne peut s'exprimer que par l'action de ses figures qui leur donne le mouvement et la vie & annonçant clairement ses sujets, y jette de l'intérêt.⁸⁴

D'Argenville did not make this statement in reference to antique sculpture only; he formulated it without restriction to period or school or kind of sculpture. However, he introduced the whole

79. *Ibid.*

80. Jean André Rouquet, *L'état des arts en Angleterre*, Paris, 1755, pp. 106-107. English translation of Rouquet, Dublin, 1756, pp. 62-63. Diderot shares Rouquet's view, remarking in his "Essai sur la Peinture," "On rit par occasion, mais on n'est pas rieur par état." *op.cit.*, X, p. 510.

81. Millin, *loc.cit.*

82. It is somewhat surprising that Millin seems to overlook

the activity of this group in his emphasis on repose at the end of the eighteenth century because of Lessing's relatively recent discussion of the moment of action which it expresses.

83. Joseph Spence (Sir Harry Beaumont), *Crito, or a Dialogue on Beauty*, ed. Goldsmid, 1885, p. 42.

84. A. N. Dezallier d'Argenville, *Vies des fameux sculpteurs . . . depuis la Renaissance des arts*, Paris, 1787, II, "Discours préliminaire," pp. xvii-xix.

discussion by asking what is sculpture, "sinon une histoire vivante, destinée à instruire la postérité des circonstances du sujet qu'elles représentent." In sculpture, where the means of introducing context are so few, circumstances must be epitomized in the action of the figure. But the idea of circumstances of an action, especially when they occur in a *histoire vivante*, clearly belongs to the same order of thinking as the idea of the moment of action. If D'Angiviller had needed critical support to justify his use of moments of action for his *grands hommes*, he could have found it in D'Argenville's discourse. We have seen that in 1806 at the height of the First Empire, Millin accepted the portrait of action or the *portrait historié* as a justifiable alternative. This was very close in time to the Salon of 1804 when Julien exhibited, as we have seen, his small version of the statue of Poussin which united a very classic form with the idea of the significant moment. Still later, during the Restoration, we find a striking example of the same combination among the statues of *grands hommes* which were commissioned to adorn the gardens of the Tuileries. Although all the figures were drawn from antiquity, yet the sculptor Foyatier represented the young prince Spartacus⁸⁵ at the moment when he broke the chains of his bondage, and so was free to begin the Gladiatorial War. The action is again that of a pregnant moment, and the pose of Spartacus has the frontality of an almost archaistic tyrannicide.

But the statues of D'Angiviller's own series had, at least in one instance, direct influence in continuing the use of the significant moment beyond the eighteenth century. One of D'Angiviller's four statues to appear at the Salon of 1787 was P. L. Roland's *Grand Condé* (Fig. 6). This famous general was represented "dans l'action de jeter son Baton de Général dans le retranchement des Ennemis à Fribourg, en 1644."⁸⁶ Thirty years later, at the Salon of 1817⁸⁷ appeared twelve models of statues of *grands hommes* which were to be placed on the bridge now called the Pont de la Concorde, but then recently renamed, under the Restoration, the Pont Louis XVI. There is a double connection between these new statues of *grands hommes* and those ordered by D'Angiviller. For it had once been suggested⁸⁸ that sixteen of D'Angiviller's statues should decorate this new bridge, instead of the Grande Galerie of the Louvre for which they had been originally destined by D'Angiviller as soon as the palace should be converted into a museum.⁸⁹ Much more pertinent, however, is the similarity between one of the statues and Roland's *Grand Condé* of 1787. For the *Grand Condé* was again one of the French generals to be selected as a *grand homme*, and the execution of the statue was assigned to a pupil of Roland, the well-known romantic sculptor, David d'Angers.⁹⁰ The original commission had been given to Roland himself, but he died before he had scarcely completed the preparatory sketch.⁹¹ Although it is lost, a description informs us that

85. On Foyatier see Stanislas Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au dix-neuvième siècle*, Paris, 1916, II, p. 393. The model of the statue of Spartacus was begun in Rome and exhibited at the Salon of 1827. The marble version, at first placed in the Jardin des Tuileries with other *illustres antiques*, is now in the Louvre.

86. Guiffrey, *Coll. des livrets*, Salon de 1787, XXXIV, p. 52, no. 265. This statue of the Grand Condé contrasts with the one executed by Coysevox in 1687 for the son of the Grand Condé. Placed in the gardens of Chantilly, the chateau where the great general received the leading literary figures of the day, the statue evokes no specific moment but suggests a parallel with Scipio Africanus, who was also a great general and patron of the arts. See Claude Nivelon, *Vie de Charles Le Brun*, Paris, Bibl. Nat. fonds fr., MS 12987, pp. 305-306. At the Battle of Fribourg, Condé, in conjunction with Turenne, defeated the Bavarians and Austrians under Mercy.

87. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture . . . des artistes vivans au Musée royal des arts*, April 24, 1817, Paris, 1817. The models were actually replacements for a series of statues ordered by Napoleon, which were to represent his generals who had been killed in battle. See Fernand de Darstein, *Études sur les ponts en pierre, antérieurs au XIXe*

siècle, Paris, 1907, II, pp. 35ff.

88. By A. R. Mopinot de la Chapotte in his *Proposition d'un monument à élever dans la capitale de la France pour transmettre aux races futures l'époque de l'heureuse révolution qui l'a révisée sous le règne de Louis XVI* (par le Chevalier de Mopinot), Paris, 1790, p. 9.

89. There are many contemporary references to D'Angiviller's unrealized plan to convert the Louvre into a Museum—a plan which he himself had inherited from the Marquis de Marigny and La Font de Saint-Yenne. Entries in the *Mémoires secrets* of Bachaumont and his continuator could be cited, such as January 28, 1777, or May 25, 1780. At the Salon of 1779, Duplessis exhibited a portrait of D'Angiviller holding a plan of the gallery where the statues of *grands hommes* were to be placed. The portrait is now at Versailles.

90. For an account of the statues on the Pont Louis XVI, see J. N. M. Frémy, *Statues du Pont Louis XVI*, Paris, 1828. These statues were subsequently transported to Versailles and placed in the forecourt of the chateau. See V. Bart: "Les statues monumentales entourant la cour d'honneur du palais de Versailles," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, 1896, pp. 432-437.

91. This information comes from the biography David

Roland did not conceive of his second statue of *Condé* in the same dramatic manner as the first. Instead of invoking some action or some particular moment, the general was represented in repose. "Debout auprès d'un cippe surmonté de la couronne royale, au pied croissant une tige de lys."⁹² Most significant for the idea of the moment is the young David's abandonment of this later quiet attitude of Roland's for his earlier dramatic one. The young Restoration sculptor returned to his master's pre-Revolutionary conception, and revived in his statue the pregnant moment in which the *Grand Condé* throws his baton into the breach. Not content with evoking the action with even greater vigor than his master, he follows the latter in using historical rather than classical costume. It is interesting to see this young romanticist turning back to what might be considered a manifestation of an essentially Neoclassic device.

We do not wish to imply, however, that David's return to the dramatic moment was part of the dominant trend of his time, since evidence of an opposing tendency is not difficult to discover. Millin's idea of the *ensemble du caractère* was taken up and given precedence by Neoclassicists over the idea of the moment. Nisard, discussing Ingres' portrait of M. Bertin at the Salon of 1833, said, for example:

Je ne sache rien de plus vivant, de plus complet que ce portrait, si ce n'est l'homme même; encore l'homme pris à un certain moment pourrait-il bien n'être pas aussi complet que son portrait. Ce n'est pas une critique judicieuse que celle qui dit: J'ai vu M. Bertin l'aîné passant dans la rue, et je lui ai trouvé le visage plus clair que dans son portrait. Assurément il y a les cas où le visage est plus animé et le sang plus près de la peau, etc. Le portrait, ce doit être l'homme au repos, dans son allure la plus habituelle.⁹³

Allowing for important differences in context, it is apparent that the emphasis is on completeness, repose, and habitual attitudes, rather than on the momentary impressions, even if the latter are more vivid and immediate. Nisard is not concerned with the *biographical moment* or the *revealing moment* but with the man *tout entier*, *son épopée*, represented in a pose in which he has been seen and known every day. Yet this conception of the portrait as representing a man as he is at all times is not entirely new, for it makes us think of Richardson's notion of the portrait as "an Abstract of one's Life," insofar as both contain the idea of a summing up.

Greater critics than Nisard minimized the moment. For we find that Baudelaire, although he thought that a portrait should express a drama, nevertheless did not conceive of it in terms of a specific moment: "un bon portrait m'apparaît toujours comme une biographie dramatisée ou plutôt comme le drame naturel inherent à tout homme."⁹⁴

According to this romantic conception a portrait would express a lifelong and subjective inner conflict rather than an historic turning point in a public career.

If the idea of the significant moment survived, therefore, into the nineteenth century, it had strong competition, which it was not destined to overcome. The literature on the idea of the moment is, however, too large to be even summarized here. Those who wrote about it were not

d'Angers himself wrote, *Roland et ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1847, p. 34. David praises very highly the statue of Condé which his master did for D'Angiviller (p. 20). Yet it is questionable whether Roland's conception is an original one. Two years before his statue of the Grand Condé was exhibited in 1783, Robert Guillaume Dardel, a pupil of Pajou, exhibited at the Salon de Correspondance a statuette of the Grand Condé, which had been commissioned by the Prince de Condé for Chantilly. This statuette belonged to a small series—which still remains at Chantilly—representing *grands hommes* of France. The Grand Condé is represented by Dardel, not only in contemporary costume, but in the same action, namely, throwing his baton into the breach at Fribourg. It seems likely that Roland would have known the sculpture exhibited at the *Salon de Correspondance* of 1781, especially since the Academy was not well disposed to rival salons. On Dardel and this

statuette, see Emile Bellier de la Chavignerie, "Les artistes français du XVIIIe siècle oubliés ou dédaignés," *Revue universelle des arts*, XIX, 1864, p. 365, and G. Macon, *Les Arts dans la Maison de Condé*, Paris, 1903, p. 96. At the Salon of 1771, a painting by François Casanova was exhibited, which represented the Grand Condé in the same action at the battle of Fribourg (Guiffrey, *Coll. des livrets*, xxvi, no. 64).

92. *Ibid.*, p. 34. A sketch for a somewhat different version of the same statue was sold with the Marius Paulme collection in 1929. See *Catalogue des sculptures Galerie Georges Petit*, May 15, 1929, III, p. 63, no. 344.

93. Quoted in Henry Lapauze, *Ingres, sa vie et son oeuvre*, Paris, 1911, p. 293.

94. "Salon de 1859" in *Curiosités esthétiques*, Paris, 1946, p. 318.

always critics or artists. Macaulay, in his *Essay in History* gives perhaps the most rhetorical formulation of the portrait which sums up and concentrates into a single moment a varied and active career: "portraits which condense into one point of time and exhibit at a single glance the whole history of turbid and eventful lives."⁹⁵ With Macaulay, such portraits seem to have their place not only in the arts but in the much broader fields of literature and the writing of history.

The idea of the significant moment also has had a broad range of application, for the material we have surveyed shows that the significant moment proved adaptable to the ideas and aims of many writers and artists from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. We have only to recall Bellori in the seventeenth, Shaftesbury, Lessing and D'Angiviller in the eighteenth and Foyatier and the young David d'Angers in the nineteenth, to appreciate the variety of contexts in which it has been introduced. Yet all of these contexts have one trait in common, they are related to some form of classicism. No doubt the types of classicism in which the significant moment occurs vary considerably over the hundred and fifty years in question, depending on the extent to which they are influenced by contemporary movements. One may wonder indeed if the device is not adaptable to nonclassical contexts, but on the whole, apart from a few exceptions, it has proven most useful perhaps to those with classicizing aims. That the significant moment does recur in so many different forms of classicism may suggest some minor reformulation of definitions of that term in order to give more weight to its dramatic and temporal aspect.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

95. Published in May 1828.



THE ORIGIN OF PAINTING: A PROBLEM IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ROMANTIC CLASSICISM*

ROBERT ROSENBLUM

I

IN both Occidental and Oriental cultures, one of the oldest and most pervasive legends of the origin of painting involves the observation of a shadow and the tracing of its outline.¹ Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History*, mentions just such a legend, claiming that while authorities are not in exact accord about the beginnings of the art of painting, they all at least agree that it began with the outlining of a man's shadow;² and Quintilian, too, tells us how painting in its most primitive phase was restricted to tracing a line round a shadow thrown in the sunlight.³ Thanks to the study of such classical writers, this legend was persistently referred to throughout the Renaissance. Thus, Alberti's *Della pittura* cites Quintilian's remarks;⁴ Leonardo's *Trattato* alludes to the same legendary origin;⁵ and Vasari's *Proemio delle Vite* refers to Pliny's account of the outlined shadow.⁶

In the seventeenth century, allusions to this primitive beginning of the art of painting occur even more frequently. In particular, the prominent historians and theorists of the time perpetuated the legend of the outlined shadow when summarizing, in the early pages of their treatises, the ancient history of the imitative arts. For example, Franz Junius, the Dutch scholar and librarian to the Earl of Arundel, again refers to Pliny's authority when he tells us, in the English edition of his *De pictura veterum*, that "the great interpreter of the mysteries of Nature witnesseth also, that the first Picture hath been nothing else but *the shadow of a man drawne about with lines*";⁷

* This article is an amplified version of a paper read at the College Art Association Meeting in Detroit, January 1957.

I wish to acknowledge the stimulus of Professor Emeritus Walter Friedlaender, who long ago noticed the Corinthian maid and realized her potentialities. In addition, I should like to express my gratitude to the Spears Fund of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, for assistance with photographic expenses.

1. A discussion of the magical basis of this legend, with examples cited from Western antiquity as well as Kalmuckian and Indian myth, is found in Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Die Legende vom Künstler; ein geschichtlicher Versuch*, Vienna, 1934, p. 79.

2. XXXV. 15. "De picturae initiis incerta nec instituti operis quaestio est. Aegyptii sex milibus annorum apud ipsos inventam, priusquam in Graeciam transiret, adfirmant, vana praedicatione, ut palam est; Graeci autem alii Sicyone, alii apud Corinthios repertam, omnes umbra hominis lineis circumducta, itaque primam talem, secundam singulis coloribus et monochromaton dictam, postquam operosior inventa erat, duratque talis etiam nunc. . . ."

For a compilation of antique texts related to the origin of painting, see J. Overbeck, ed., *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 67-69; and Adolphe Reinach, *Recueil Milliet*, Paris, 1921, I, pp. 62ff. See also A. Rumpf, "Classical and Post-Classical Greek Painting," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVII, 1947, p. 10.

3. *De institutione oratoriae* X. ii. 7. ". . . non esset pictura,

nisi quae lineas modo extremas umbrae, quam corpora in sole fecissent, circumscriberet."

4. "Diceva Quintiliano che pictori antiqui soleano circoscrivere l'ombra al sole, et così indi poi trovò questa arte cresciuta." (Hubert Janitschek, ed., *Leone Battista Alberti's kleinere kunsttheoretische Schriften [Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte]*, XI, Vienna, 1877, p. 93.) For an English translation, see John Spencer's edition (Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, London, 1956, pp. 64, 118 n. 9).

5. "La prima pittura fu sol di una linea, la quale circondava l'ombra dell'uomo fatta dal sole ne' muri." (Gaetano Milanesi and Marco Tabarrini, *Trattato della Pittura di Leonardo da Vinci*, Rome, 1890, p. 58.) Erwin Panofsky (*The Codex Huygens and Leonardo da Vinci's Art Theory*, London, 1940, p. 61 n. 4) mentions this as well as Alberti's comment and gives, in addition, a bird's-eye view of the legend from antiquity down to Douglas Fairbanks' silent movie, *Robin Hood*.

6. "Ma, secondo che scrive Plinio, quest'arte venne in Egitto da Gige Lidio; il quale, essendo al fuoco, e l'ombra di se medesimo riguardando, subito con un carbone in mano contornò sè stesso nel muro. . . ." (*Le Vite* [Milanesi ed.], Florence, 1878, I, p. 218.) I have not traced the source of Vasari's story, which does not occur in Pliny. Pliny, in fact, mentions Gyges of Lydia not in relation to the invention of painting, but to the invention of ball-throwing as a sport. This remark is immediately followed by a reference to the invention of painting by the Egyptians, a sequence which may be at the root of Vasari's error. (Pliny VII. 205.)

7. *The Painting of the Ancients*, London, 1638, Chapter III,

and of Continental treatises one might cite André Félibien's *De l'origine de la peinture et des plus excellens peintres de l'antiquité*, which relates how all classical sources agree that "le premier qui s'avisait de désigner, fist son coup d'essay contre une muraille en traçant l'ombre d'un homme que la lumière faisait paroistre,"⁸ or such comparable remarks in contemporary Spanish treatises as Vicente Carducho's assurance that despite disagreement over the inventor of painting, "todos concuerdan en el modo que fue circumscribir con un carbon, ò otra materia una sombra,"⁹ a comment repeated by Francisco Pacheco.¹⁰

One of the first illustrations of this legendary origin is *El Cuadro de las Sombras* by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618-1682) (Fig. 1), a work of ca. 1660.¹¹ Following quite literally the printed accounts of the invention of painting, Murillo shows us the first artist of history tracing the profile of a man's shadow cast by the sun upon a wall, while attendant figures watch this momentous event with appropriate awe and admiration. If this subject, with its erudite reference to antique sources, appears exceptional in Murillo's more familiar repertoire of genre and religious themes, its presence in his oeuvre is easily explained. Apparently this was the painting Murillo offered to the Capilla de los Pintores (a chapel dedicated to St. Luke in the parish church of San Andrés, Seville) after his election to the presidency of the Seville Academy, newly founded in 1660. The subject could hardly be more suitable to an academic milieu, for it pays learned and respectful homage to the remote, antique beginnings of the great tradition of Western painting now to be safeguarded by the Baroque academies. Indeed, the inscription on the cartouche in the lower right makes this point explicit:

TUBODELASOMBRA
ORIGEN
LAQUEADMIRASHER
MOSURA
ENLACELEBREPIN
TURA

that is, "The beauty that you admire in renowned painting originated in shadow."¹²

It is again the milieu of the academy that provides the stimulus for another seventeenth century illustration of this antique legend. In Joachim von Sandrart's *Teutsche Academie*, first published in 1675, the text is illustrated by the author himself. In one case (Fig. 2), Sandrart depicts a similar theme in which a shepherd, together with the goat and sheep at his left, observes the mimetic images cast by the oblique rays of the sun.¹³ Directly below this engraving, however, Sandrart illustrates a far more elaborate and ingratiating legend of the origin of the imitative arts and one which is also recounted by Pliny (Fig. 3).¹⁴

p. 27. Italics original. Two Latin editions of Junius also appeared in the seventeenth century (Amsterdam, 1637; Rotterdam, 1694).

8. Paris, 1660, p. 21.

9. *Dialogos de la pintura, su defensa, origen, essencia, definicion, modos y diferencias* [Madrid], 1633, p. 27. Carducho, in a marginal note, refers to Pliny as his source.

10. *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad, y grandezas*, Seville, 1649, pp. 15-16. "Pero todos concuerdan (dize Plinio) en que fue primeramente imitada de la sombra del ombre."

11. See Al. Busuioceanu, "A Re-Discovered Painting by Murillo: *El Cuadro de las Sombras*," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXVI, 1940, pp. 55-59. Busuioceanu's remarks in turn depend upon Francisco M. Tubino, *Murillo, su época, su vida, sus cuadros*, Seville, 1864, pp. 231-233; and Charles B. Curtis, *Velazquez and Murillo*, London, 1883, p. 273.

12. The inscription is syntactically complex, and might be reworded more clearly as: "La hermosura que admiras en la celebre pintura tubo origen de la sombra." I am indebted to

Mr. Albert Sicroff of the Department of Romance Languages, Princeton University, for assistance with this translation.

13. *Teutsche Academie der Bau- Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg, 1675, II, opp. p. 2. Sandrart mentions Quintilian as the source for this illustration. ("Also haben auch andere von dem Schatten derer so in der Sonne stunden die äuserste Linien abgezeichnet wie Quintilianus schreibet und das mit Lit. B. bezeichnete und hie beygefügte Kupferblat weiset.") For a comparable illustration in an earlier emblem book, see Laurentius Haechtanus [Laurens van Haecht], *Μικροκόσμος*, Antwerp, 1579, p. 72. (This is listed, with descriptions of later editions, in Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, London, 1947, II, pp. 112-113.) An even earlier illustration of an artist tracing a shadow on a wall is in the Codex Huygens (Panofsky, *op.cit.*, p. 61, fig. 51).

14. For another reproduction of this engraving see *ibid.*, fig. 73. The illustration of this scene in the Latin edition of the *Teutsche Academie* (*Academia nobilissimae artis pictoriae*, Nuremberg, 1683, facing p. 40) is both more elaborate and

In discussing the origin of clay modeling, Pliny tells the story of a Corinthian maid whose inventiveness was motivated by love. Knowing that her lover was to leave the country, she traced the shadow that her lover's face cast upon the wall by lamplight. The story then goes on to tell how this mimetic image, which was to solace the Corinthian maid in her lonely days to come, was further improved by her potter father, Butades, who filled in the outline with clay and baked it with his other pottery.¹⁵

Sandart's illustration of this delightful story, however, would seem to be rare in the seventeenth century, although it is referred to in other theoretical treatises of the time.¹⁶ The same situation prevails in the earlier eighteenth century, for printed accounts of the legend are not uncommon, including even an epistolary poem by the centenarian Fontenelle,¹⁷ whereas illustrations of it are scarce. Among the many verbal references to the legend, one might mention not only the abundant eighteenth century Pliny editions and translations,¹⁸ but another ancient source for the story which appeared in 1714 in an English translation—the *Apologetics* of Athenagoras, a Christian Athenian of the second century.¹⁹ Furthermore, the encyclopedic curiosity of the eighteenth century provided another vehicle for the continued verbal tradition of the legend; one finds it recounted in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*,²⁰ as well as in more specialized dictionaries of the period.²¹ Yet despite such printed allusions,^{21a} the story of the Corinthian maid (who was generally referred to as Dibutade, after her father's name) was seldom illustrated before the 1770's.²²

more amorous; for in addition to the potter's wares shown in the foreground, the lovers' arms are intertwined and one putto supports the lantern while another hovers above. This more complex illustration is also used in the eighteenth century German edition of Sandart (Nuremberg, 1768-1775, VII, facing p. 64).

There exists a drawing for the 1675 edition in the Albertina. For an illustration, see Hans Tietze et al., *Die Zeichnungen der deutschen Schulen bis zum Beginn des Klassizismus (Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der graphischen Sammlung Albertina)* [ed. by A. Stix], IV, v), Vienna, 1933, plate 180, fig. 639. The identification of the drawing (IV, p. 73, no. 639) as "Gyges Lydius in Egypten thät die erste Zeichnung," a phrase taken from Sandart's marginal comment (II, 1675, p. 2), is clearly incorrect. It is interesting that Sandart also attributes to Pliny the reference to Gyges of Lydia's invention of drawing, just as Vasari had done before him, for it suggests a common source for this error.

15. XXXV. 151. "De pictura satis superque. contexuisse his et plasticen conveniat. eiusdem opere terrae fingere ex argilla similitudines Butades Sicyonius figulus primus invenit Corinthi filiae opera, quae capta amora iuvenis, abeunte illo peregre, umbram ex facie eius ad lucernam in pariete lineis circumscripsit, quibus pater eius impressa argilla typum fecit et cum ceteris fictilibus induratum igni proposuit, eumque servatum in Nymphaeo, donec Mummius Corinthum everterit, tradunt." For a compilation of antique references to Butades, see Overbeck (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 46.

16. For example, Pacheco, *loc.cit.* "I la Coroplastica (que es l'Arte de vaziar) invento Coro, i su padre Dibutades Sicyonio. Esta amanda un mancebo, i aviendose de partir la noche antes debuxò la sombra que causava del, la luz del candil, en la pared; i su padre labrando en fondo dentro de aquéllas lineas, hincho el espacio de barro, i salio una figura que despues cozio." In the sixteenth century, the story is recounted by Raffaello Borghini (*Il riposo*, Florence, 1584, p. 255). This was reprinted in the eighteenth century (Florence, 1730, p. 202).

17. "Dibutadis à Polemon," in *Oeuvres diverses*, Amsterdam, 1701, III, pp. 151-154.

18. For a list of Pliny editions (including translations), see F. L. A. Schweiger, *Handbuch der classischen Bibliographie*, Leipzig, 1834, II, pp. 781ff.; and H. Le Bonniec, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire naturelle de Plin l'Ancien* (Collection d'études

latines, XXI), Paris, 1946, pp. 19-20. During the eighteenth century, some of Pliny's chapters on art appeared in separate editions: *Histoire de la peinture ancienne, extraite de . . . Plin, liv. XXXV*, London, 1725; *Traduction des XXXIV, XXXV et XXXVI livres de Plin . . . avec des notes par M. Falconet*, Amsterdam, 1772 (2nd ed., The Hague, 1773).

19. *The Apologeticks of the Learned Athenian Philosopher Athenagoras* (trans. by David Humphreys), London, 1714, p. 173: "Making of Wax Images was invented by Core, who being in love, drew her Lover's Picture on a Wall as he lay by asleep; and her Father extremely delighted with the Exactness of the Likeness, and happening to be a Joiner by Profession, cut out the Features, and filled them with Wax."

20. Paris and Neufchâtel, 1751-1765, XIV, p. 820. "Dibutades, Corinthien, passe pour être le premier qui inventa la plastique. . . . Tout le monde sait que la fille, éprise pour un jeune homme qui partoît pour un voyage, traça sur le mur l'ombre que son visage formoit par l'opposition d'une lampe. Le pere frappé de ce dessein, suivit les contours et remplit. . . ."

21. [Antoine d'Origny] *Dictionnaire des origines . . .*, Paris, 1777, VI, p. 92. "Plusieurs Historiens disent qu'une jeune fille qui devoit être séparée de son amant pour quelques temps, remarqua sur une muraille l'ombre de ce jeune homme dessinée par la lumière d'une lampe. L'amour lui inspira l'idée de se ménager cette image chérie, en traçant sur l'ombre une ligne qui en suivit & marquât exactement le contour. Cette amante avoit pour pere un Potier de Sycione, nommé Dibutade. . . ."

21a. More casual references to the Corinthian maid were not uncommon in the eighteenth century. Thus, Lessing opens the second chapter of his *Laokoön* (1766) with an oblique allusion to the tale: "Es sei Fabel oder Geschichte, dass die Liebe den ersten Versuch in den bildenden Künsten gemacht habe: so viel ist gewiss, dass sie den grossen alten Meistern die Hand zu führen nicht müde geworden . . ."; and Étienne-Louis Boullée, in his *Treatise on Architecture* (ed. by Helen Rosenau, London, 1953, p. 82), likewise refers to it parenthetically: "Tout le monde connoît l'effet des corps mis en opposition avec la lumière: il en résulte comme on sait, que les ombres offrent la ressemblance de ces corps. C'est à cet effet de la nature que nous devons la naissance du bel art de la peinture. L'amour, dit-on, l'inspira à la belle Dibutade [*sic*]: Pour moi, c'est à l'amour de mon art que je dois mon inspiration."

22. Just as this article was being submitted for publication,

Beginning with this decade, the subject seems to fascinate artists for some fifty years, until the 1820's, when it again disappears. Apparently, then, the period of Romantic Classicism exhibits the fullest response to the legend of the Corinthian maid. It is the nature and meaning of this response which will be the subject of this study.

II

What is likely to be the first work to proclaim this new iconographic tradition appears on the periphery of European painting, in the oeuvre of the Scottish master, Alexander Runciman (1736-1785) (Fig. 4).²³ The very choice of a subject from Greek legend presented in a reconstructed classical milieu and in a style that prophesies the relief composition and firm contours of later decades is precocious for the date of this painting, 1771, and serves to remind us again of the priority which British, and particularly Scottish, painting had in the introduction of Neoclassic style and iconography in the second half of the eighteenth century. By way of parallel examples, one need only mention the pioneering Neoclassicism of Runciman's compatriot, Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798), who, with Benjamin West, clearly preceded Neoclassic developments in France.²⁴ But more than this, the particularly romantic inflection Runciman gives to the legend is remarkably advanced. His source is apparently Athenagoras and not Pliny, for he includes a narrative element with which the Greek writer has varied Pliny's tale, namely that the Corinthian maid (whose name, in the 1714 English translation, becomes Core)²⁵ "drew her lover's picture on a wall as he lay by asleep."²⁶ This added detail was evidently sufficient stimulus for a nocturnal setting, in which the potter's daughter, her hand guided by Cupid, stealthily records the profile of her lover's slumbering head upon a wall whose inscription clarifies the historic significance of the event: AMORE MAGISTRO INVENTRIX ECCE GRAIA.²⁷ To underline this combination of mystery and antiquity, Runciman has added a melancholic note of decay in the crumbling, irregular wall already overgrown with leaves, as well as a reference to classical architecture in the dimly lit monopteros at the right.

While such elements convey the increasingly romantic flavor of the ruins and concealed antique pavilions in contemporary English garden architecture, the source of light offers an even more emphatic assertion of this romanticism. For Runciman has cast the youth's shadow not by the light of the sun or, as in Pliny's text, by an artificial indoor light, but rather by the light of the moon. Again, to consider the early date of this painting, 1771, is to suggest the pre-eminence of British painting in introducing the new expressive attitudes of Romanticism. Indeed, it was Runciman himself who in 1773 was the first to paint subjects from the Nordic moonlit mysteries of Ossian, long before its vogue on the Continent;²⁸ and it was Runciman's brother

A. Pigler's monumental encyclopedia of Baroque iconography appeared (*Barockthemen; eine Auswahl von Verzeichnissen zur Ikonographie des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest and Berlin, 1956, 2 vols.). It includes a list of seventeenth and eighteenth century illustrations to the legend of the Corinthian maid (II, p. 335). While this list is hardly complete (omitting about half the examples cited in this article), it does mention works I had not come across in my research and have not had time to locate at the last minute. Substantially, though, Pigler's compilation corroborates the general premise of this study (namely, that the theme was uncommon until the later eighteenth century), and an investigation of the few pre-1770 items mentioned by Pigler would probably alter only slightly, if at all, the interpretations offered here.

23. Ellis K. Waterhouse (*Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1953, p. 213) believes Runciman's painting may have been executed while the artist was still in Rome.

24. For the most recent discussion of Hamilton, see Waterhouse, "The British Contribution to the Neo-Classical Style in

Painting," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XL, 1954, pp. 57-74. The most important earlier studies of the priority of British painting in the development of Neoclassicism are those by Jean Locquin (*La peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785*, Paris, 1912, pp. 152ff.), and "Le retour à l'antique dans l'école anglaise et dans l'école française avant David," *La renaissance de l'art français et des industries de luxe*, V, 1922, pp. 473-481).

25. This is apparently a transliteration of the Greek κόρη.

26. *The Apologeticks* . . . , p. 173. For a discussion comparing Pliny's and Athenagoras' version of the legend, see Carl Robert, *Archäologische Märchen aus alter und neuer Zeit (Philologische Untersuchungen, I)*, Berlin, 1886, pp. 130-131.

27. With love the master, behold the Greek inventress.

28. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain*, p. 213. Runciman's priority in Ossian illustrations is supported by the list given in Klaus von Baudissin, *Georg August Wallis, Maler aus Schottland, 1768-1847*, Heidelberg, 1924, pp. 60-63. Baudissin's compilation, however, is far from complete, omitting as

John (1744-1768) who in 1767 painted a *King Lear in the Storm*, a work whose concept of furious, unleashed nature foreshadows the many Deluges to come at the turn of the century.²⁹

If the milieu of Scotland may well be the first to explore the romantic mystery potential to the legend of the Corinthian maid, it appears to be equally alert in its realization that the tale was especially well suited to the historical imagination and easily awakened lachrymal sensibilities of the later eighteenth century. This may be seen in another version of the subject, again by a Scotsman, David Allan (1744-1796), who executed the painting in 1773 for the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, but who won greater fame with it in his native Scotland (Fig. 6).³⁰ This time the scene, now following Pliny, moves indoors to the potter's studio; and the light comes from an oil lamp rather than from the moon. Furthermore, the youth is not asleep, but quite consciously participates in this commemorative act while embracing his beloved.

The amorous sentimentality of this antique tale of love's fidelity captured many British imaginations, for this painting was often engraved³¹ and had a most curious subsequent history which involved no less a figure than Ludwig van Beethoven. In 1793 the Scotsman George Thomson (1757-1851), began to publish a series of compilations of British national folksongs, a characteristically romantic enterprise comparable to Thomas Percy's earlier *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.³² In his 1816 edition of Irish songs, Thomson used an engraving of David Allan's painting as a frontispiece.³³ This work, in turn, had so appealed to the fancy of a certain William Smyth, professor of modern history at Cambridge, that he wrote an original poem about the subject which was set to an old Irish air for which Beethoven himself, as in the case of the other airs, had arranged a piano and string accompaniment. The opening stanza is worth citing as a symptom of romantic attitudes:

Thy ship must sail, my Henry dear,
Fast comes the day, too soon, too sure;
And I, for one long tedious year,
Must learn thy absence to endure.
Come let me by my pencil's aid
Arrest thy image ere it flies;
And like the fond Corinthian maid,
Thus win from Art what Fate denies.³⁴

Here the romantic imagination's remarkable ability to transfer a dramatic theme from one realm of historical experience to another is succinctly demonstrated. Thus, the sentimental motif of parting lovers is retained whereas the milieu of ancient Greece is changed to an equally remote ancient Ireland and the hero, whose name becomes Henry, departs Tristram-like for the high seas. In terms of pictorial attitudes around 1800, it is this very combination of empathy and historical mobility that helps to explain the simultaneous investigations of mediaeval, classical, and modern subject matter in the work of, say, Benjamin West,³⁵ or the translatability of David's stoical Roman subjects into a contemporary context.³⁶

it does Ossian illustrations by Fuseli, Friedrich, Ingres. On Scottish Romanticism, see also Frederick Antal, *Fuseli Studies*, London, 1956, p. 19.

29. See W. M. Merchant, "John Runciman's 'Lear in the Storm,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVII, 1954, pp. 385-387.

30. See T. Crouther Gordon, *David Allan*, Alva, 1951, pp. 24-25; Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, *Catalogue* (50th ed.), Edinburgh, 1946, p. 67.

The Academy of St. Luke awarded Allan a gold medal for this painting. Allan later presented this award to the Society of Antiquaries in 1783 (William Smellie, *Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1782-1784, II, pp. 74f.).

31. The first engraving appeared in 1776 by Cunego (Gordon, *loc.cit.*), who also engraved the works of Gavin Hamilton and West.

32. London, 1765, 3 vols.

33. George Thomson, ed., *Select Collection of Original Irish Airs for the Voice United to Characteristic English Poetry Written for the Piano Forte, Violin, & Violoncello, Composed by Beethoven*, London and Edinburgh, 1816, II.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

35. Thus, within five years West painted the deaths of General Wolfe (1771), Epaminondas (1773), and the Chevalier Bayard (ca. 1775), pictures essentially the same in concept but different in their choice of historical milieu.

36. The best study of the contemporary political ramifica-

In another British example by Joseph Wright of Derby (1734-1797) the legend of the origin of painting again corresponds to a number of later eighteenth century interests. Painted in 1784, Wright's work (Fig. 5) was originally commissioned in 1778 by Josiah Wedgwood, whose attraction to the story obviously depended in large part upon the fact that the profile outline invented by the Corinthian maid was later modeled and baked by her potter-father.³⁷ Indeed, the fires on the right are probably an allusion to those of Wedgwood's own pottery factory at Stoke-on-Trent, appropriately named Etruria.³⁸

But beyond such specific relevances, the legend offered another demonstration of that amorous fidelity which the period so often extolled. This motif is further borne out by the companion piece Wedgwood commissioned from Wright, *Penelope* (Fig. 8), a subject suggested by Wright's friend, the writer William Hayley.³⁹ For in this Homeric scene, we find the most conspicuous antique exemplar of feminine loyalty to an absent lover, a loyalty which is symbolized in both paintings by the presence of Fido. Thus, the Corinthian maid, like Penelope, could become another classical symbol of feminine virtue to an age which frequently made didactic references to Lucretia, Portia, and Cornelia, as well as to their antique masculine counterparts. It is worth mentioning, too, that the dramatic luminary situation afforded by both these subjects was particularly suited to Wright's characteristic pictorial talents, for he was well known as a master of tenebrism, whether in terms of candle- or moonlight. In both paintings, then, we glimpse through lugubrious darkness the intimate antique scene—on the one hand, Penelope unraveling her yarn while watching over the sleeping Telemachus; and on the other, the Corinthian maid tracing the profile of her lover in the gloomy light.

The relation of Wedgwood to these paintings recalls a further reason for the growing popularity of the Corinthian maid. Like the linear precision and two-dimensionality of Wedgwood's own pottery, Wright's interpretation of the theme reflects the stylistic tendency of the time towards increasingly clean-cut, continuous contours and a flattening of forms against the picture plane. Thus, the posture of the sleeping youth (Fig. 5) depends upon such a Roman prototype as the Museo Capitolino's relief of the sleeping Endymion (Fig. 7)⁴⁰ and indicates the period's growing attraction to that art of earlier epochs which could offer paragons of linear purity and relief style. This emphasis is even noted in Hayley's poetic account of the origin of painting, which appeared in 1781:

Inspir'd by thee [love], the soft Corinthian maid,
Her graceful lover's sleeping form portray'd:
Her boding heart his near departure knew,
Yet long'd to keep his image in her view:
Pleas'd she beheld the steady shadow fall,
By the clear lamp upon the even wall:
The line she trac'd with fond precision true,
And, drawing, doated on the form she drew . . .⁴¹

tions of David's art is David L. Dowd, *Pageant-Master of the Republic, Jacques-Louis David and the French Revolution*, Lincoln (Nebraska), 1948.

37. See Eliza Meteyard, *The Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, London, 1866, II, p. 508. The painting is poorly reproduced in color in C. Reginald Grundy, "Wright of Derby," *Connoisseur*, LXXXVI, December, 1930, facing p. 354.

38. I wish to thank Mr. Benedict Nicolson for calling this to my attention.

39. Mentioned in a letter of August 31, 1783 from Wright to Hayley (William Bemrose, *The Life and Works of Joseph Wright* . . . , London, 1885, p. 61).

40. Miss Elaine Loeffler kindly pointed out this relationship to me. If Wright had not actually seen the Endymion relief during his Roman sojourn (1774-1775), he could easily have

known it through contemporary prints (e.g., G. G. Bottari, *Musei Capitolini* . . . , Rome, 1750-1782). Furthermore, a plaster cast of the relief in the collection of Sir John Soane (and still to be seen in the Soane Museum) suggests its familiarity to English art circles around 1800.

41. William Hayley, *An Essay on Painting: in Two Epistles to Mr. Romney* (3rd ed.), London, 1781, p. 9. This was reprinted in 1785 and 1788 as well as in Hayley, *The Life of George Romney, Esq.*, Chichester, 1809, p. 346. A shorter account of this legend is given in another of Hayley's poems (*An Essay on Sculpture; in a Series of Epistles to John Flaxman*, London, 1800, p. 27). Both this and the essay on painting are accompanied by notes which refer to Pliny and Athenagoras, as well as to eighteenth century comments on the legend by Fontenelle and the Comte de Caylus.

One could hardly ask for a tidier list of Neoclassic stylistic attributes: the shadow is steady, the lamp clear, the wall even, and the line precise. For an age which was to venerate the outline engravings of Flaxman and which sought out the linear simplicity of presumably primitive and uncorrupted phases of an artistic evolution, be it Greek vase painting or the Italian art which preceded the High Renaissance, the legend of the origin of painting must have offered still another confirmation of the historical priority and essentiality of pure outline. Indeed, in 1789, eight years after Hayley's poem, Friedrich Schiller was also to commemorate in verse the linear origin of art, but in even more elemental terms. In *Die Künstler* he writes:

Die schöne Bildkraft ward in eurem Busen wach.
Zu edel schon, nicht müßig zu empfangen,
Schaft ihr im Sand—im Thon den holden Schatten nach,
Im Umriss ward sein Daseyn aufgefangen.⁴²

And by 1801, Schiller, in a conversation with Ludwig Tieck, was to extend this veneration of simple outline to a criticism of the paintings in the Dresden Museum: "Ich kann den Gedanken nicht loswerden, dass diese Farben mir etwas Unwahres geben, da sie, je nachdem das Licht so oder anders fällt, oder der Standpunkt, aus dem ich sie sehe, so oder anders ist, sie doch verschieden gefärbt erscheinen; der blosse Umriss würde mir ein weit treueres Bild geben."⁴³

France as well as Great Britain responded to the legend of the origin of painting, but her interpretation of the subject is retardataire by comparison with British standards. Consider, for example, the version by Jean-Baptiste Regnault (1754-1829), David's rival, designed as an overdoor for the Grand Cabinet de la Reine at Versailles (Fig. 9).⁴⁴ Executed in 1785, the year following Wright's painting, Regnault's decoration offers neither the romantic inflection nor the Neoclassic form of its English counterpart. Rather, its attitudes still belong to the world of the Rococo. Thus, Regnault, painting for Marie Antoinette, conceives the scene in sunlight as opposed to the more mysterious moonlight or artificial indoor illumination of the British examples; nor is this sunny, daylight realm yet infused with those dramatic qualities of portentous intimacy and sentiment so conspicuous in Great Britain as early as the 1770's. Furthermore, the scene, identified as *Dibutade traçant le portrait de son berger*,⁴⁵ moves to that rustic Arcadia of the pre-Revolutionary decades, so that the maiden's lover becomes a shepherd carrying a pipe and the drawing instrument a shepherd's staff. For Regnault, painting might have been invented at the Queen's newly constructed Hameau.

Essentially, then, Regnault's decoration is an amorous theme in the Rococo taste, a taste which would enjoy this antique demonstration of love as the ultimate source of artistic invention. This affirmation of the omnipotence of love is likewise made by the companion piece Regnault executed for the Queen's chambers, *Pygmalion amoureux de sa statue*.⁴⁶ For here, in another erotic Greek myth, a comparable theme—the magical identity of a mimetic image with the object imitated—is encountered, although the situation is, of course, reversed. In the legend of the Corinthian maid, a beloved human being is transformed, as it were, into a work of art to replace him in his absence;

42. *Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1800-1803, II, p. 47. The poem was composed in 1788-1789.

43. L. Förster, ed., *Biographische und literarische Skizzen aus dem Leben und der Zeit Karl Försters*, Dresden, 1846, pp. 155-156. See also Rudolf Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck*, Leipzig, 1855, I, pp. 258-259. Schiller's remarks are cited in Franz Landsberger, *Die Kunst der Goethezeit*, Leipzig, 1931, pp. 156-157.

44. Gaston Brière, "Emplacements actuels des tableaux du Musée du Louvre," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, II, 1924, pp. 331-332. See also Frédéric Villot, *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée Imperial du*

Louvre (2nd ed.), Paris, 1855, III, p. 303; and F[ernand] E[ngerand], ed., *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la direction des Bâtiments du Roi (1709-1792)*, Paris, 1900, p. 409.

45. Brière, *loc.cit.*

46. *Ibid.* *Pygmalion*, unlike *Dibutade*, was shown at the Salon of 1785, together with another amorous antique myth: *Psyché venant à la faveur d'une lampe, pour poignarder son amant qu'elle croit un monstre: elle reconnoît l'Amour* (Explication des peintures, sculptures et graveurs, de Messieurs de l'Académie Royale, Paris, 1785, p. 31). In the Salon catalogue, Regnault's name is given as "Renaud."

whereas in the legend of Pygmalion and Galatea, a beloved work of art is metamorphosed into a human being.

This conjunction of the Corinthian maid and the Pygmalion legend was not unique. In the same year, 1785, Louis Philippe Mouchy (1734-1801), a pupil of Pigalle, exhibited at the Salon a group of bronze reliefs which included both these antique tales together with such other themes of origin and metamorphosis as the invention of the Corinthian capital by Callimachus and the transformation of the daughters of Minyas into bats.⁴⁷ Like Regnault's painting, Mouchy's sculptural version of the Corinthian maid (Fig. 10)⁴⁸ still belongs to the world of Louis XVI. A virtuoso attempt at rendering intricate luminary effects in the medium of sculpture, it follows Pliny's text more closely, using again the artificial indoor illumination of a torch and including not only Butades' workshop but the potter himself.

By the 1790's, however, French art frequently assumed a more romantic tenor, witness a painting of the Corinthian maid by Joseph Benoît Suvée (1734-1807), who was later to be Director of the French Academy in Rome. In this most inventive interpretation of the theme (Fig. 11),⁴⁹ exhibited at the Salon of 1791,⁵⁰ Suvée introduces those elements of obscurity, privacy, and sentiment which had been formulated earlier in Great Britain. Here in the empty, somber darkness of the potter's workshop, the Corinthian maid intensely records the Greek profile of her lover, while he in turn demonstrates the comparable fervor of his love by being unable to avert his glance from her face or to resist the temptation to embrace her waist. Stylistically as well, Suvée's painting reflects the Neoclassic preference for fluent but sharp contours, a preference which caused a contemporary critic to find the painting "un peu sec."⁵¹

It is hardly surprising that the erotic potentialities of the legend would attract the attention of another French master, Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson (1767-1824), who was notable for his exploration of even the most obscure erotic myths of antiquity.⁵² In 1820, Girodet prepared an illustration of *L'origine du dessin* to accompany a passage from his own lengthy didactic poem, *Le peintre*:⁵³

Oui, c'est lui [Cupid] qui, jadis, dans l'antique Argolide,
D'une jeune beauté guida la main timide,
Lorsque, d'un tendre amant, son doigt sûr et léger,
Arrêta sur le mur le profil passager
Qu'y dessinait sans art une ombre vacillante.
Oh! douce et chaste erreur d'une pieuse amante!
Séparée à regret de l'objet de ses feux,
A cette esquisse encore elle portait ses vœux
L'adorait en silence, et l'image fidèle
Recevait les sermens adressés au modèle!
O Dibutade! non, ce ne fut pas en vain
Que l'amour t'embrasa de son transport divin:

47. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

48. Henri Hymans, ed., *Catalogue des Sculptures, Musées Royaux de peinture et de sculpture de Belgique* (2nd ed.), Brussels, 1911, p. 44.

49. Bruges, Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts, *Catalogue illustré*, Bruges, 1932, p. 128.

50. *Ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, et architecture . . . exposés au mois de Septembre 1791*, Paris [1791], p. 50. Suvée exhibited another version of the same theme in the Salon of 1793 (*Description des ouvrages de peinture . . . exposés au Louvre*, Paris, 1793, p. 17). For further remarks on the 1791 painting, see Henry Lemonnier, "Suvée et ses amis à l'École de Rome (1772-1778)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 3, xxx, 1903, p. 110; and Jules Guiffrey, "Joseph Benoît Suvée; correspondance inédite (1773-1807)," *Archives de l'art français*, iv, Paris, 1910, p. 302.

51. *Explication et critique impartiale de toutes les peintures . . . par M.D.*, Paris, 1791, p. 19. Most critics, in fact, were negative, and some preferred another painting of Dibutade by François Nicolas Mouchet (1749-1814), which was also exhibited in the Salon of 1791. (See *Salon de peinture*, 1791, p. 6; and A. Callet, "Le peintre Fr. Mouchet," *La cité*, xvii, July, 1918, p. 186.) Lemonnier (*loc.cit.*) also criticizes Suvée's painting in comparable terms ("si glacial, si nu, si vide dans sa recherche du style").

52. In addition to such paintings of Girodet's as *Erigone* and *Mlle. Lange as Danaë*, see also his *Les amours des dieux* (Paris, 1826), a collection of prints which included such rare myths as *Thetis and Peleus*, *Clytia*, and *Hermaphrodite and Salmacis*.

53. See A.-L. Girodet-Trioson, *Oeuvres posthumes* (ed. by P. A. Coupin), Paris, 1829, I, p. lxxxv.



1. B. Murillo, *El Cuadro de las Sombras*. Formerly Sinaia (Rumania)



2. J. Sandrart, *The Invention of Painting*. Engraving from *Teutsche Academie*, II, 1675



3. J. Sandrart, *Dibutade*. Engraving from *Teutsche Academie*, II, 1675



4. A. Runciman, *The Origin of Painting*. Penicuik House (Scotland)
(Courtesy National Galleries of Scotland)



5. J. Wright of Derby, *The Origin of Painting*. Derby, Private Collection (Courtesy A. Robotham)



7. *Endymion*, Rome, Museo Capitolino



6. D. Allan, *The Origin of Painting*. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland (Courtesy National Gallery of Scotland)



8. J. Wright of Derby, *Penelope*. New York, Private Collection (Courtesy H. Wedgwood)



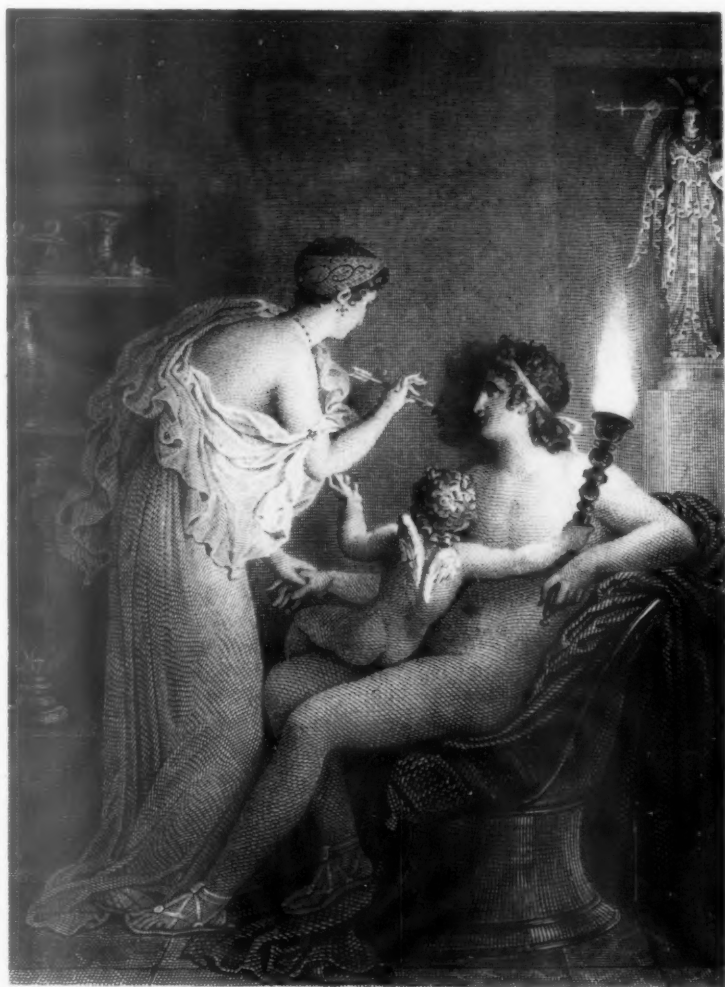
9. J.-B. Regnault, *Dibutade*. Paris, Louvre



10. L. Mouchy, *Dibutade*. Brussels, Musées Royaux de Peinture et de Sculpture de Belgique (Copyright ACI)



11. J. Suvée, *The Origin of Painting*. Bruges, Musée Communal des Beaux-Arts (photo: Brusselle)



12. A.-L. Girodet-Trioson, *The Origin of Drawing*. Engraving from *Oeuvres posthumes*, 1829



13. J. Schenau, *The Origin of Painting, or Portraits à la Mode*



14. Mme. Chaudet, *Dibutade Coming to Visit Her Lover's Portrait*



15. A. Vinchon and N. Gosse, *The Origin of Drawing*. Paris, Louvre
(photo: Franceschi)



THE ORIGIN OF A PAINTER.

16. W. Mulready, *The Origin of a Painter*



17. H. Daumier, *Penelope's Nights* (Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Lui-même, il aiguïsa cette flèche acérée,
 Qui servit de crayon à ta main rassurée:
 Son flambeau fut ta lampe, et Minerve, en ce jour,
 Applaudit d'un sourire aux leçons de l'Amour.⁵⁴

Like the text, the engraved illustration (Fig. 12)⁵⁵ underlines the crucial role of Cupid; for now, in terms of Girodet's most glacially erotic, neomannerist figure style, the amorous couple seems only passively to follow the dictates of love's genius. Not only does Cupid hold the torch which lights the wall of the potter's studio, but his left hand guides the Corinthian maid's arm and his sharp-pointed arrow serves as her drawing instrument.

The legend of Dibutade appears to have attracted Girodet because of its erotic aspects, but it must also have suggested to him, as to the whole period, an antique parallel to the art of the silhouette. Indeed, the invention and flourishing of the silhouette, whether considered a game or a science, corresponded to the very years in which the Corinthian maid rose to prominence.⁵⁶ A conceptual art of permanence and essentiality, the silhouette conformed closely to the period's general fascination with a flat, linear style that offered immutable distillations of reality rather than the fleeting complexity of visual data recorded by the earlier eighteenth century. In the case of Girodet, a familiarity with the silhouette was more than casual, for his knowledge of Johann Caspar Lavater's physiognomical studies is well documented.⁵⁷ But more broadly speaking, the analogy between the silhouette and the legendary antique origin of painting was easily made. In Henry Fuseli's Lectures to the Royal Academy of 1801, for example, the Anglo-Swiss master remarks first how "if ever legend deserved our belief, the amorous tale of the Corinthian maid, who traced the shade of her departing lover by the secret lamp, appeals to our sympathy, to grant it," and then goes on to tell us that "the first essays of the art [painting] were skiagrams, simple outlines of a shade, similar to those which have been introduced to vulgar use by the students and parasites of Physiognomy, under the name of Silhouettes . . ."⁵⁸ And most appropriately, the same remarks are repeated in the introduction to a contemporary edition of outline engravings after Sir William Hamilton's collection of antique vases.⁵⁹

The association between silhouette-making and the legendary linear origin of painting may, in fact, be even more explicitly demonstrated in a French print of ca. 1770⁶⁰ after a painting (Fig. 13) by the German master, Johann Eleazar Schenau (1737-1806). Here one sees the lighter counterpart of Lavater's scientific analyses of human physiognomy as revealed by the silhouette. In a scene of simple fun-making, the young man commemorates the young lady's profile, as the Corinthian maid had done centuries before, while a juvenile complement is offered below, where the children trace a kitten's shadow and create an imaginary rabbit on the wall.⁶¹ In the context of the antique legend, however, it is the title of the print which is most significant: *L'origine de la peinture, ou Les portraits à la mode*.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

55. Engraved by Henriquel Dupont.

56. For a succinct account of the history of the silhouette, see the article by Anton Kippenberg in Georg Biermann, *Deutsches Barock und Rokoko*, Leipzig, 1914, I, pp. lxvii-lxix.

57. George Levitine, "The Influence of Lavater and Girodet's *Expression des sentiments de l'âme*," *ART BULLETIN*, xxxvi, 1954, pp. 33-44. Levitine (p. 33 n. 8) cites the important editions of Lavater around 1800.

58. Henry Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting, Delivered at the Royal Academy March, 1801*, London, 1801, pp. 8-9.

59. *Outlines from the Figures and Compositions upon the Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Vases of the Late Sir William Hamilton* (drawn and engraved by Henry Kirk), London, 1804, pp. xiii-xiv.

60. Engraved by Jean Ouvrier. See Roger Portalis and Henri Bérardi, *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1882, III, pp. 244-245. The pendant to this work is *La lanterne magique*, which also deals with the entertaining aspects of shadow plays.

61. It may be worth mentioning the conjunction of human and animal profiles here. Such comparisons of man and beast were not uncommon around 1800, not only in Lavater but in such a work as Wilhelm Tischbein, *Têtes de différents animaux dessinées d'après nature pour donner une idée plus exacte de leurs caractères*, Naples, 1796. Analogies between human and animal physiognomy had been made earlier by Charles Lebrun, and his comparative studies were even included in a French edition of Lavater (*L'art de connaître des hommes par la Physiognomie . . .*, Paris, 1806, 10 vols.).

To explain the popularity of this legend (a popularity which even extended to textiles),⁶² one should mention still another tendency of the period, especially in France. This was the prominent role of women painters around 1800, witness such notable examples as Angelica Kauffmann, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, Constance Mayer, or David's now famous pupil, Constance Charpentier. It was only natural that the many women painters of an era which so often disguised itself in antique clothing should be proud that Greek legend held the inventor of their art to be a woman, a fact which is rarely overlooked in the early pages of subsequent histories of women artists;⁶³ and at times, this identity with a classical past could attain a poignant sentiment. Thus, in a French Pliny edition of the 1770's the editor adds a note to the legend of the Corinthian maid telling how he found a quatrain below an engraved portrait that proves the artist adopted the name of her Greek prototype:

Dibutade peignit; son maître fut l'Amour,
Et son amant fut son modèle;
L'amitié triomphe à son tour;
Elle a fait ce portrait fidèle.⁶⁴

And the same identification of past and present is indicated in the title of a painting by a certain Mlle. Guéret exhibited at the Salon of 1793, *Une moderne Dibutade*.⁶⁵

Probably the most fanciful of these feminine interpretations of the theme, however, was one exhibited in the Salon of 1810 by Mme. Jeanne-Elisabeth Chaudet (1767-1832), a pupil of Vigée-Lebrun and of her first husband, the prominent Neoclassic sculptor, Antoine-Denis Chaudet.⁶⁶ Mme. Chaudet was best known for her sentimental themes, which included such extravagant items as a young lady teaching her dog to say grace before eating,⁶⁷ and it is not unexpected that her feminine imagination should invent a touching aftermath to Pliny's text. In a contemporary outline engraving of the painting (Fig. 14),⁶⁸ one sees that the Corinthian maid's lover has already departed and that she has, for a memory, only the profile she had traced long ago. To add to the gravely sentimental tenor of this tender homage to a mimetic form, the wall upon which the lover's profile is eternalized suggests a shrine, indeed, a tombstone; and the faithful and reverent offering brought by the virtuous inventress of painting is a basket of carnations, a familiar symbol of pure love.

With such an amusing, but most impure, elaboration of the Greek legend, its original narrative integrity is seriously threatened; and in fact, later interpretations of the story attest to this iconographic decline. In 1827, Auguste Jean-Baptiste Vinchon (1789-1855) collaborated with Nicolas-Louis-François Gosse (1787-1878) on the vault decorations of the new Musée Charles X at the Louvre. The encyclopedic program comprised a series of grisailles from antique history in which the Corinthian maid took her inevitable place in a compendium of scenes illustrating the origins of the arts in Greece: *Sculpteur grec copiant une Isis égyptienne, Apelle choisissant ses modèles,*

62. See Henry René d'Allemagne, *La toile imprimée et les indiennes de traite*, Paris, 1942, plate 11. I wish to thank Miss Florence Kossoff of the Frick Collection, New York, for this reference.

63. For example, Ernst Guhl, *Die Frauen in der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin, 1858, pp. 23-24; Mrs. E. F. Ellet, *Women Artists in All Ages and Countries*, London, 1852, pp. 4-5; Walter Shaw Sparrow, ed., *Women Painters of the World*, London, 1905, p. 21.

64. L. Poinsinet de Sivry, ed., *Histoire naturelle de Pliny*, 1771-1782, XI, p. 299 n. 1.

65. *Description des ouvrages de peintures, sculpture, architecture et gravures exposés au Sallon du Louvre*, Paris, 1793, p. 46, no. 483. I have not been able to locate this work, but the title, at least, evokes another sentimental translation of the

Greek legend into contemporary terms.

66. She is also known as Mme. Husson, the family name of her second husband.

67. Salon of 1812. See C. P. Landon, *Annales du Musée et de l'école moderne des beaux-arts; Salon de 1812*, Paris, 1812, I, p. 88 and pl. 65.

68. The outline engraving appeared in Landon, *Annales . . . Salon de 1810*, Paris, 1810, pl. 34 (facing p. 54). The painting was again exhibited at the Salon of 1814. The painting itself used to be at the Arras Museum (*Catalogue des tableaux, bas-reliefs et statues . . . du Musée de la Ville d'Arras* [4th ed.], Arras, 1907, p. 76, no. 195), but disappeared during World War I. The Museum still possesses Mme. Chaudet's *Jeune fille pleurant sa colombe morte*.

and *L'origine du chapiteau corinthien*.⁶⁹ What is noteworthy about Vinchon's grisaille, *L'origine du dessin* (Fig. 15), is only the iconographic indifference whereby the role of the sexes is pointlessly reversed, making it the maiden, and not her departing lover, whose profile is recorded. Stylistically, too, the painting is decadent, for it offers only an arid codification of those Neoclassic forms whose waning vitality was vigorously attacked in the same year by Delacroix's *Sardanapalus*. By the late 1820's, in fact, the iconographic tradition of the Corinthian maid, at least in its original antique form, had all but disappeared.⁷⁰

However it was left to Great Britain, where the associative richness of the legend had first been explored some fifty years earlier, to make a more fundamental assault upon the integrity of the Corinthian maid. In 1826, the English genre painter, William Mulready (1786-1863), exhibited at the Royal Academy a painting called *The Origin of a Painter*,⁷¹ which appeared two years later in a lithograph (Fig. 16).⁷² Here the antique legend has been thoroughly transformed into rural genre terms, and one sees, instead of the Greek lovers, a country boy tracing his father's profile on the wall of a ramshackle farmhouse while his mother and younger brother look on. With this interpretation of the legend, the form and content of Romantic Classicism have completely vanished; even the reproductive medium, lithography, substitutes for the linear essences and pristine whiteness of Mme. Chaudet's outline engraving a broad, rough rendering of luminary and atmospheric values in which a clean-edged, static silhouette would be a strange intruder. Clearly, by the 1820's an ever-growing audience found that Romantic Classicism was no longer a satisfactory vehicle of expression. The lure of antiquity, the search for an abstract art of linear exactness and eternal, primitive simplicity were of diminishing relevance to the experience of a new century.

If Mulready's prosaic translation of the Greek legend into the language of a commonplace, everyday environment places us on the threshold of a world for whom the Corinthian maid could no longer be a reality,⁷³ a later decade, that of the 1840's, offers the ultimate disenchantment. In 1848, Rodolphe Töpffer's *Réflexions et menus propos d'un peintre genevois* appeared in a posthumous edition. With the viewpoint of Darwin's generation, Töpffer studied children's art and graffiti as documents of the origins of artistic impulse.⁷⁴ For him, the legend of the Corinthian maid was patently false and ridiculous and, like Vinchon, he carelessly confuses the role of the sexes. Thus he asks, "L'art est-il né, comme le dit une assez niaise tradition, de l'idée qu'eut un amant de crayonner sur la muraille le contour de l'ombre qu'y projetait le profil de sa maîtresse, ou bien l'art est-il né, au contraire, du premier essai que fit un homme, amant ou non, pour réaliser, au moyen de l'imitation, quelque conception du beau, fruste encore, élémentaire, grossière, mais enfin issue de sa pensée et qui la charmait?"⁷⁵

If the legend which Fuseli, forty years earlier, still felt "deserved our belief"⁷⁶ was no longer intellectually tolerable to Töpffer, the imagery of the 1840's was equally merciless with the story

69. See F. de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne, ou Description historique et graphique . . .*, Paris, 1841-1853, I, p. 574. The gallery containing these decorations is now Salle IV (Salle des objets votifs) in the Salles des Antiquités égyptiennes. (Musée nationale du Louvre, *Catalogue des peintures exposées dans les galeries*, I [École française, ed. by Gaston Brière], Paris, 1924, p. 302.)

70. For a rare survivor in the next decade, see Eduard Daege's *Die Erfindung der Malerei* (1832) in the Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

71. See London, Victoria and Albert Museum, *A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Sketches of the Late William Mulready, Esq., R.A. (1786-1863)*, London, 1864, p. 13; and Frederic G. Stephens, *Memorials of William Mulready, R.A.*, New York, 1890, p. 78. I have not been able to locate the original painting. The Victoria and Albert Museum owns a drawing for the painting (illustrated and described in Geoffrey

Grigson, *English Drawing from Samuel Cooper to Gwen John*, London, 1955, pl. 104, p. 180).

72. In Richard J. Lane, *Lithographic Imitations of Sketches by Modern Artists*, London, 1828.

73. For another genre transformation (though a less explicit one) of this legend, see *The Silhouette* by John James Chalon (1778-1854), a wash drawing of ca. 1840 in the British Museum (illustrated in Iolo A. Williams, *Early English Watercolours . . .*, London, 1952, fig. 364).

74. For a discussion of Töpffer in relation to mid-nineteenth century attitudes towards popular and naïve art, see Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1940-1941, especially pp. 177ff.

75. Rodolphe Töpffer, *Réflexions et menus propos d'un peintre genevois*, Paris, 1848, II, Chap. XX, p. 105.

76. Fuseli, *loc.cit.*

of the cherished profile. Between 1841 and 1843, Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) published in *Charivari* his *Histoire ancienne*, a series of lithographs that made a clean sweep of any lingering reality the antique world might have had. Included among the preposterous exploits of Telemachus, Aeneas, Ariadne, or Hannibal was *Les nuits de Pénélope* (Fig. 17), an almost direct travesty of Mme. Chaudet's *Dibutade*.⁷⁷ For comfort in her lonely, gas-lit nights, Penelope must turn, swooningly, to Ulysses' archaic profile on the wall or, in the words of the caption:

De son époux absent l'adorable profil
Toujours à ses doux yeux brillait comme une étoile . . .

Daumier's destruction of the Greek legend could hardly have been more definitive. In later decades, problems concerning the origin of painting were to be relegated to the discipline of the anthropological sciences.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

77. See Loys Delteil, *Honoré Daumier (Le peintre-graveur illustré, XXII)*, Paris, 1926, III, nos. 925-974. *Les nuits de Pénélope* (no. 930) was published in *Charivari*, April 24, 1842.

NOTES

ADDENDA TO ELAINE LOEFFLER'S "A FAMOUS ANTIQUE"*

RICHARD PAUL WUNDER

In her carefully documented analysis of the Sachetti-Los Angeles sarcophagus Miss Loeffler hardly mentions its history between the time it figured in Montfaucon's publication of 1724 and its appearance in Piranesi's *Antichità romane* of 1756. There is evidence, however, to suggest that this famous piece might have been during this time in the collection formed by Cardinal Silvio Valenti-Gonzaga.

This theory would seem to be sound on two counts: first, that one loses trace of its exact locale after Montfaucon's publication, suggesting that it came to rest in a private collection; and secondly, that it suddenly reappears not only in Piranesi's work, but also in Panini's paintings and drawings, in both instances, possible indirect flattery of the prelate of importance second only to the Pope himself, for Cardinal Valenti was Benedict XIV's Secretary of State. In addition to his political position, this Cardinal was one of the greatest connoisseurs and art collectors of his day.

Further hint of Cardinal Valenti's ownership of this sarcophagus is reflected in Miss Loeffler's statement: "Before the early twentieth century sale, when it was in the collection of Donna Enrichetta Castellani, it had been in the Villa Bonaparte in Rome. This villa was constructed about 1750 and according to certain authorities, it was designed by Giovanni Paolo Panini. . . ." Actually, construction on the Villa, known at that time as the Villa Valenti, must have begun fairly early in the 1740's.

Upon his elevation to the Pontificate, in August of 1740, Benedict XIV immediately appointed Cardinal Valenti as his Secretary of State. This Cardinal thereafter was well able to indulge himself in the luxury of collecting. For, in addition to his own personal fortune, he was appointed chief negotiator for the Pope in securing a concordat with Spain regarding the methods of the Dataria. The success of these negotiations brought him a reward of 45,000 scudi from the King of Spain, soon to be augmented by an additional 50,000 scudi, which caused him some unpopularity with his fellow Churchmen.² By 1754 the Cardinal's health was broken and two years later he died. Upon his death, his art collection went to his nephew, Cardinal Luigi Valenti-Gonzaga, and upon his decease, in 1763, it was disbursed in two immense sales held in Amsterdam that same year, a few objects first being syphoned off

into the Torlonia and Corsini collections, so that they have remained in Rome to this day. The Villa Valenti passed into the hands of Cardinal Prospero Colonna di Sciarra and thence to Paolina Bonaparte, wife of Camillo Borghese, from whom it derives the name by which it is known today.

Antonio Nibby mentions that the two-storied casino which Cardinal Valenti erected in the gardens of his villa was designed by Panini.³ Rather, this small but beautifully furnished building, in which was housed the major portion of the Cardinal's art collection, library, scientific instruments, and Chinese porcelains, was constructed by the French architect identified only as "Maréchal,"⁴ to the designs of Panini.⁵ It is quite possible that this pleasure building was in the process of construction at the time Panini painted his monumental picture (Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Conn.), dated 1749, which shows the Cardinal amongst his varied treasures in an imaginary gallery. In the left foreground of this picture a group of students are seen examining the floor plan of the Panini-Maréchal casino, whose design is conspicuously less grandiose than the setting in which the artist has chosen to show his patron. Panini has intended that the Cardinal's picture collection be featured, and although he is known to have collected sculpture as well,⁶ only a few classical busts are seen in Panini's painting. Nowhere does the Sachetti-Los Angeles sarcophagus appear, either in the Inventory of the collection or in the painting by Panini. Even so, the Inventory is known to be incomplete, and does not seem to correspond precisely with those works that appear in the painting.⁷

Miss Loeffler further mentions that: ". . . it may also be that the piece itself was in the process of restoration in the years between 1750 and 1758."⁸ Could these restorations have taken place under Cardinal Valenti's supervision? If so, would this possibly explain the fact that the work was not yet installed in his villa at the time Panini painted his picture?

One further pictorial reference to this sarcophagus as it appears in Panini's art is the drawing in pen and ink and water color, recently acquired by the Chicago Art Institute, showing the same composition as the Metropolitan Museum of Art painting, a detail of which Miss Loeffler reproduces in her article (fig. 22). Although not dated, on stylistic grounds this drawing proves to have been done after, rather than before the oil painting of 1757. In the lower right foreground appears the Sachetti-Los Angeles sarcophagus, though so carelessly delineated as to make it appear, at first glance, to have been from another model.

* ART BULLETIN, pp. 1-7 of the present volume.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 6. The author gives as her source L. Càllari, *Le ville di Roma*, Rome, 1943, pp. 320ff.

2. See L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, xxxv, p. 73.

3. *Roma nell'anno 1838*, parte seconda, pp. 952ff.

4. Probably Jacques-Philippe Maréchal, later Director-General of fortifications for the Province of Languedoc, rather than the indifferent landscape painter of the same name, both active

in Rome about the same time.

5. See Pastor, *op.cit.*, xxxv, p. 44.

6. As revealed in the manuscript Inventory of the collection, now in the Gonzaga family archives at Mantua.

7. See Harald Olsen, "Et Malet Galleri af Pannini: Kardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzagas Samling," *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift 1951*, Copenhagen, 1952, pp. 90-103.

8. *Op.cit.*, p. 4.

It is hoped that some day further research will bring to light facts which will prove conclusively whether or not this piece was in the Valenti-Gonzaga collection.

COOPER UNION MUSEUM

NOTES ON CASTELSEPRIO

MEYER SCHAPIRO

I. THE THREE-RAYED NIMBUS

In an article in *Cahiers Archéologiques* (VII, 1954, pp. 157-159), Professor Grabar writes that in citing his observation of the peculiar symptomatic cross nimbus in the frescoes of Castelseprio, with the lines of the cross extending beyond the circle of the nimbus, "M. Schapiro a pensé pouvoir en réduire la portée en joignant aux exemples carolingiens et ottoniens de ce genre de nimbe crucifère deux exemples byzantins." He goes on to argue that these two examples are not at all relevant to the problem, for in one case—the Cotton Genesis (Fig. 1)¹—the arms of the cross are broad bands and not thin lines as in the frescoes (Fig. 3), and in the other case—Athens MS 211, a work of the tenth century—there is not even a cross nimbus, but rather a candlestick in the form of a cross, independent of the nimbus and illustrating a sermon of St. John Chrysostom (Fig. 2).² Hence the detail at Castelseprio remains a Western peculiarity and an evidence of the late date of the frescoes, since it is found in this form only in Carolingian and Ottonian works.

I hope this detail will not seem too small and unimportant to warrant further study and the reader's attention; and I hope I shall be forgiven if I take this opportunity to restate my views on the subject of Castelseprio.

Although Professor Grabar links my name with Morey and Bognetti as proposing dates "sensiblement plus anciennes que l'époque carolingienne," the conclusion of my article was precisely that the fresco cycle could not be of the seventh century, as Morey and Bognetti believed, since it contains elements which are first known to us in the art of the Carolingian period. I regarded the type of cross nimbus as one of these elements, and in citing the two Greek examples I distinguished their form from the more specifically West-

ern type of Castelseprio and the Carolingian parallels. I proposed further the view that the frescoes, though based on Byzantine art, were not of the tenth century, as Weitzmann and others maintained, but belonged rather to the second half of the eighth century at the earliest and probably to the late eighth century, because of the relations to early Carolingian art and to Italian works of the end of the eighth and the early ninth century.³ This connection with the art of the Carolingian period I had already remarked in reviewing the book of Bognetti and de Capitani d'Arzago in 1950.⁴

In contrasting the form of the cross nimbus in the Greek and the Western examples, the first with a "solid, material" cross, the second with "a thin line [of the cross], an effect more suggestive of the luminous and emanatory than of the instrument of the Crucifixion," I wished also to offer an hypothesis to explain the distinctive features of the cross nimbus in the frescoes. I supposed that the three ray-like lines, resembling the rays issuing from the nimbus of the phoenix and the personified sun in Roman and early Christian art, symbolized the emanatory aspect of the divine being, the threefold Godhead as a "superessential ray," "an originating beam," "an overflowing radiance"—metaphors found in the writings of the pseudo-Dionysus. But such imagery was not peculiar to this Greek writer; the underlying idea was common enough and had been expressed earlier and in a manner more pertinent to the frescoes by a Latin author, Tertullian, in speaking of the Logos and the Incarnation: "When a ray is projected from the sun it is a portion of the whole sun; but the sun will be in the ray because it is a ray of the sun; the substance of the sun is not separated but extended, as light is kindled from light. . . . So from spirit comes spirit, and God from God. . . . This ray of God, as had always been prophesied before, descended into a Virgin and having been incarnated in her womb was born a man-God." (*Apologeticum* xxi. 12-14)

Philo in the first century had already written of the Logos as "the radiant light of God"⁵ and in the New Testament the Son is described as "the brightness of God's glory" (Hebrews 1:3). In the controversies during the fourth century over the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, the relation of the ray to its source was the most cogent example of emanation and of distinct forms with a common substance.⁶ Writing

1. After H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Paris, 1929, pl. opp. p. iv.

2. After A. Grabar, *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII, 1954, pl. LIV.

3. ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 156, 160, 162, 163.

4. *The Magazine of Art*, December, 1950, pp. 312f.

5. *De Somniis* i. 13, 72; cited by Harry A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers* (I, Faith, Trinity, Incarnation) Cambridge (Mass.), pp. 300, 301.

6. On the analogy of light in early Christian theology and particularly in the doctrine of the Trinity, see besides Wolfson, *op.cit.*, pp. 300ff., 359ff., Cl. Bauemker, *Witelo (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters*, III, 2), Münster, 1908, pp. 357-433 and especially pp. 371-

379; G. P. Wetter, *PHOS*, Uppsala, 1914; Fr. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I, 1929 ("Sonne und Sonnenstrahl als Gleichnis in der Logos-theologie des christlichen Altertums"), pp. 271-290; *idem*, VI, 1940 ("Das Sonnengleichnis in einer Weihnachtspredigt des Bischofs Zeno von Verona. Christus als wahre und ewige Sonne"), pp. 1-56; R. Bultmann, "Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum," *Philologus*, xcvi, 1948, pp. 1-36.

Since the heretical Arians rejected the metaphor of light in explaining the Trinity (A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, London, 1905, IV, pp. 15, 41), the three-rayed nimbus might be regarded as more characteristically Western in the fifth and sixth centuries, for Arianism was more important then in Italy and Spain than in the East; and the frequency of the three-rayed nimbus in the Carolingian period might be con-

of the Trinity in the symbolic decoration of the church of Hagia Sophia, the poet Corippus exclaimed: "Subsistite, numina fulgent! Natus, non factus, plenum de lumine lumen."⁷

In the background of these theological metaphors was also the conception of Christ as the true Sun, replacing the pagan solar gods.

The heavy arms of the cross in the two Greek examples I had cited did not seem to me relevant to this explanation, although they extend, like the rays at Castelseprio, beyond the circle of the nimbus. But after reading Professor Grabar's comments on my article, it occurred to me upon further study that the massive crosses in the Greek examples also originated in a metaphor of God as light and that both types of cross nimbus—with broad or with thin ray-like arms extending beyond the circle—go back to early Christian models.

Grabar has observed that in the Athens National Library Ms 211 the miniature showing a bust of Christ with three arms of a cross reaching beyond the nimbus (Fig. 2) renders very precisely the words of a sermon by St. John Chrysostom on the parable of the ten drachmas (Luke 15:8-10). Christ, according to Grabar, is the tenth drachma and is held by Adam in a lamp; the other nine are the accompanying angels. The bust of Christ with the double traverse cross behind him illustrates the words of the homilist for whom Christ is the Divine Wisdom "which lights the lamp and placing it in the lampstand of the Cross, bears the light and leads the whole world to piety." Christ "comes from heaven, takes the clay lamp which is the body, lights it with the light of divinity, and sets up the candlestick of the cross." What I had taken to be a cross nimbus is therefore, in Grabar's opinion, quite another thing; the cross, symbolizing the candlestick and rendering literally the text of the accompanying sermon, "has nothing to do with the cross nimbus."⁸

I am not convinced by Professor Grabar's interpretation. Is not the tenth drachma Adam who holds the lamp?⁹ and is not Christ the light by which Adam, the lost drachma, is found? In identifying the cross of Christ with the lampstand (*lychnia*) that bears the light, the author of the sermon describes a familiar object of his time: a candelabrum or stand of which

the light is set above a cross.¹⁰ The artist of the Athens manuscript, or perhaps the painter of his model, had another type of light in mind: one in which a cross surmounts a lamp.¹¹ The thought underlying this early Christian type is often expressed in the Greek phrase inscribed on the lamp: "The light of Christ shines for all."

In the Athens miniature the bust of Christ as well as the cross issues from the lamp in Adam's hand. The question is whether the cross here also belongs with the nimbus as an attribute of Christ or only symbolizes the metaphorical lampstand (or candlestick) of the homilist. If the latter were the case, it would be hard to understand why the cross should be set above rather than below the lamp and why the horizontal arms should extend beyond the nimbus; they scarcely look like parts of a stand or candlestick, and in any case the combination of lamp and candlestick seems strange. When the artist wishes on the same page to represent a candle in the hands of the angels, he draws it clearly enough, and where he wishes to depict a cross distinct from the nimbus, as in his drawing of the Holy Spirit on another leaf, the cross is set behind rather than within the nimbus, in passing beyond it.¹² Grabar interprets this cross as an actual metal object placed on an altar; but he ignores the material prototypes of the lamp in the miniature of the tenth drachma.

Is it not more plausible to suppose that the artist, in order to symbolize the illumination by Christ, "the light of the world," the "lucerna ardens et lucens" (Augustine), and to render the homilist's image of the cross as the lampstand or candlestick, has condensed the chain of metaphors in a cross nimbus of decidedly radiant aspect? The color re-enforces this effect: the nimbus, the cross, and Christ's apparel are all painted yellow.

That light could be represented in this more solid form and even with a thickening of the rays or bands at the outer end is confirmed by the image of Helios in the recently discovered ceiling mosaic in the pre-Constantinian mausoleum underneath St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 4).¹³ The purplish rays, forming massive bundles, extend beyond the halo as in the Cotton Genesis and the Athens manuscript.

But even without the testimony of this mosaic, one

nected with the controversies over Adoptionism and the Filioque formula at that time, although these two questions were independent of the old Arian issue.

7. For the whole text, see A. Heisenberg's article in *Xenia, Hommage international à l'Université nationale de Grèce*, Athens, 1912, p. 152.

8. *Op.cit.*, p. 158.

9. As the sermon clearly states (Migne, *Pat. gr.*, LXI, col. 781) and as Grabar recognized in his publication of the miniature in 1932: "Un manuscrit des homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome à la Bibliothèque nationale d'Athènes (Athenensis 211)," *Seminarium Kondakovianum, Recueil d'études*, Prague, V, 1932, pp. 259-297, especially p. 272. Although attributed to St. John Chrysostom in the manuscript, this sermon is published in Migne among the *spuria*.

10. For an example see H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1907, II, p. 570, fig. 379 (Cairo Museum).

11. For examples see Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie*

chrétienne et de liturgie, s.v. "Lampe," cols. 1106ff., 1202, 1209, 1210; Fr. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, V, 1936, pls. 1, II.

12. On fol. 56, cf. Grabar, *loc.cit.*, 1932, pl. XVIII, 2 and pp. 263, 278. Cf. for a similar effect the cross with a medallion bust of Christ in front of the cross in Paris, Bibl. nat., Ms gr. 20, fol. 7.

13. See *Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano*, ed. by B. M. A. Ghetti et al., Vatican City, 1951, I, p. 41, pls. B, C (in color, II, pl. XI from which our Fig. 4 is reproduced); Jocelyn Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations*, London, 1956, pp. 42, 117, pl. 32. Toynbee and Perkins date the mosaic in the mid-third century and call the figure Christos-Helios: "It may be no accident that the rays to right and left of his nimbus trace strongly accented horizontal lines, forcibly suggesting the transverse bars of a cross."

could have surmised the possibility from other works.¹⁴ There is one especially in which the connection of the cross with solid bands of emanating light is perfectly clear; the mosaic of the bema of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea.¹⁵ Here eight broad bands of light issue from a cross set on the throne of the Hetoimasia; four of these prolong the arms and vertical parts of the cross, the other four issue from the angles. They all traverse three great concentric circles which probably symbolize the Trinity. In the same church the mosaic of the apse repeats the theme of light in a more explicit Trinitarian sense: three rays in the form of bands issue from the hand of God, passing through two concentric circular segments into the semicircular golden space below.¹⁶

Let us note too that these unquestionable rays of light are of changing color: white, grey-blue, and green-blue in the first mosaic; rose, grey, and green in the second. Professor Bognetti has objected to the interpretation of the three lines of the cross nimbus in Castelseprio as rays or symbols of light that they are painted

in a dark color.¹⁷ This is due, I believe, to the fact that they are set on the light ground of the nimbus. In the mosaic below St. Peter's, as in the later mosaics in Nicaea and in many other works, rays of light are represented in dark tones (grey, blue, green, and purple).¹⁸ Black rays are not uncommon in mediaeval images of the personified sun.¹⁹ The color of rays varies in mediaeval art just like the color of the nimbus, another symbol of light.

I may point out finally that in Carolingian art the solid cross with arms projecting beyond the nimbus is sometimes formed of parallel linear rays closely aligned.²⁰

Hence from the point of view of theological meaning and origin—though not of style—the Carolingian examples of the nimbus with the linear ray cross need not be separated, as I once supposed, from the solid type. Both depend probably on models of the fourth or fifth century—the period during which the solar analogy was common and Helios was represented with rays issuing from the nimbus in the two forms that I have described.²¹ The theologically significant choice of the

14. For the same type of rayed nimbus as in the mosaic under St. Peter's, cf. the painting of Helios in the Vatican Virgil (lat. MS 3225), (*Fragmenta et picturae Vergiliana*, Rome, 1930, pl. 6); the pavement mosaic of the phoenix in Antioch (Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, II, pl. LXXXIII); the mosaic of Christ on the arch of triumph of S. Paolo f.l.m. in Rome, which may be of the late eighth century (M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Les mosaïques chrétiennes*, Geneva, 1924, figs. 100, 101, p. 89); the Romano-British relief of Sol Invictus in Corbridge (T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, London, 1938, pl. XIII, I: here the slender rays crossing the nimbus may be regarded as lines rather than as solid bands). More common are the solid pointed, i.e. peaked or convergent, rays passing across the nimbus: the figure of Apollo in a Pompeian fresco (O. Brendel, *Römische Mitteilungen*, LI, 1936, p. 57, fig. 8); the relief of Mithras in Nimrud Dag (Fr. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens*, Berlin, 1923, pl. 56); the solar personifications in Mithraic art (Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1894-1900, II, fig. 29, p. 202 [no. 18] and *passim*); coins of Antoninus Pius (Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. "Nimbe," fig. 5321); for mediaeval examples, cf. the sun in Joshua's miracle of the sun in the Vatican Joshua Roll, the bust of the Sun in Phillips MS 1830 (Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*, Berlin, 1898, fig. 72).

15. Theodor Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1927, pl. XII, p. 21; O. Wulff, *Die Koimesis Kirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken*, Strasbourg, 1903, pl. I. For other examples of bands of light extending from the cross beyond the enclosing circle, cf. the fresco of the sixth century in the apse of the annex to the cathedral of Rusafa-Sergiopolis (J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947, fig. 109); fresco in tomb chamber in Sofia, sixth century (E. K. Riedin, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* [in Russian], Moscow, 1916, fig. 2, p. 6); mosaic of Hagia Sophia in Salonica (van Berchem and Clouzot, *op.cit.*, p. 182); a newly uncovered mosaic in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, IX and X, 1956, fig. 110, after p. 300). For the possible connection of the luminous cross in painting and mosaic with early Christian legends about the luminosity of the true cross and the miraculous appearance of a radiant cross in the sky over Jerusalem in 351 (or 353), see O. Wulff, *op.cit.*, pp. 241, 243 and A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, II, p. 276; for the occasion and date of Cyril's vision of the celestial cross, see J. Vogt, "Berichte über Kreuzerscheinungen aus dem 4. Jahrhundert n.Chr.," *Annuaire*

de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves (Université Libre de Bruxelles) IX, 1949, pp. 593ff. Visions of the luminous cross are also mentioned in Gnostic-Christian writings (Acts of John and Philip) (R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 1883-1900, I, pp. 452, 523; III, pp. 9, 16, 37). In the Acts of John, which were read at the Council of Nicaea, Christ shows John a luminous cross which he calls Logos, Nous, Spirit and Life, as well as Christ.

16. Schmit, *op.cit.*, pl. XX, pp. 29, 30.

17. See *Cahiers archéologiques*, VII, 1954, p. 143 n. 2.

18. Cf. also the sun in the scene of Joshua's miracle in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome; the miniature of Joseph's Dream in the Vienna Genesis (Fr. Wickhoff, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna 1895, pl. 29); the painting of Apollo in Pompeii cited in note 14 above; the bust of the sun in British Museum, Harley MS 647, fol. 13v (*Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages*, III, *Manuscripts in English Libraries*, by Fr. Saxl and Hans Meier, edited by Harry Bober, London, 1953, II, pl. LVII, fig. 148); the sun in Madrid, Bibl. Nac. MS 19 (A. 16) (*ibid.*, I, fig. 9).

19. Cf. the Leyden Aratus (Voss. 69) (Thiele, *op.cit.*, p. 121, fig. 46 [three black and three gold rays]); British Museum, Cotton Tiberius C. I (Saxl, Meier, and Bober, *op.cit.*, I, fig. 147).

20. Cf. the Egino codex, Berlin Phillips MS 1676, fol. 24 (E. Arslan, "La pittura e la scultura veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII," Milan, 1943, pl. 42); the Lorsch Gospels (Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. XVI, A); the Gospels of Soissons (Bibl. nat. MS lat. 8850) (*ibid.*, pl. XX); the Smyrna Physiologus, bands of triple rays from the bust of the Sun (J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus*, Leipzig, 1899, pl. IV). Such bands are common in images of the Anastasis, issuing from Christ's body. Cf. the mosaic in the chapel of S. Zeno in Sta. Prassede, Rome (J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Freiburg im Br., 1917, pl. 114, 4).

21. For the Sun or Helios with single linear rays, cf. the Joshua scene in the Rabula Gospels, and the relief of the Sun in Corbridge cited in note 14 above. Both types of rays, the solid band and the linear, occur also in images of the phoenix: for the first, see the mosaic in Antioch cited in note 14; for the linear type, see examples I have cited in ART BULLETIN, 1952, p. 156 n. 56; for a list of examples on Roman coins, see L. Stephani, "Nimbus und Strahlenkranz," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 6e série



1. *Creation, The Third Day* (detail)
Cotton Genesis (Drawing after
destroyed miniature)



2. *The Tenth Drachma*, Homilies of St. John Chrysostom
Athens, National Library, MS 211, fol. 34v



3. *Adoration of the Magi*. Castelseprio,
Sta. Maria (Drawing after fresco)



4. *Helios*, ceiling mosaic of underground mausoleum
Rome, St. Peter's



5. *Alexander the Great*, bronze medallion
Rome, Vatican Museum



6. Düsselndorf, Landesbibliothek, MS 113



8. *Crucifixion*. Engraved Gem. London, British Museum



7. *Christ Enthroned*. Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CLXV



9. *Annunciation to Joseph*. Castelseprio, Sta. Maria (Courtesy Frick Art Reference Library)



10. *Mounted Amazons*. Silk Tapestry. Lyons, Collection C. Cote (photo: Giraudon)



11. *The Emperor Theodosius II*. Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CLXV

three rays of Christ's halo may be likened to the seven rays of the sun in Mithraic art, also a theological attribute.²²

The recurrence of the solid emanatory cross in the Creation scenes of the Cotton Genesis agrees with the theology that speaks of the divine light especially in connection with the Creation. In the same miniature (Fig. 1) the nimbus is marked with many small rays, a device that reappears in Carolingian art.

(I have assumed until now that the three rays are parts of the cross and merely a variant of the "cross nimbus." But the facts presented here suggest another interpretation: that besides the true cross nimbus and monogram nimbus in which all four bars were more or less clearly drawn—as in the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the door of Sta. Sabina²³—there existed very early a three-rayed nimbus of which the rays were at first conceived less as parts of a cross than as a symbol of the Trinity. In time this emblem was conflated with the cross in the familiar form in which the fourth part is covered by Christ's head. It is a remarkable fact that although Christian art develops from naturalistic to increasingly symbolic modes of representation and tends to present its symbols as distinct surface forms, the cross in the nimbus remains a symbolic object in real space overlapped and obscured by the head of Christ.)

The tiny stroke at the end of the rays in Castelseprio (and in several other Western works) seems to Bognetti incompatible with the interpretation of the lines

as rays.²⁴ This is hardly a decisive objection since the rays in the image of Helios beneath St. Peter's in Rome (Fig. 4) are thickened at the end. In early Christian mosaics stars are often, if not usually, represented by radiating lines with knobbed ends;²⁵ this, in fact, is how the painter of Castelseprio has drawn the great star of Bethlehem in the scene of the Nativity. In pagan and Christian works the rays of the sun and of solar divinities end in dots or knobs that might symbolize the stars or planets,²⁶ a device which survives into the Middle Ages, especially in pictures of the Apocalyptic Woman "clothed with the sun" (Revelations 12).²⁷ On a medallion of the late fourth century in the Vatican Museum, the emblem of the sun accompanying a head of Alexander the Great is a circle from which radiate wheel-like spokes with short transverse lines at the ends (Fig. 5).²⁸ This schema for rays of light is not uncommon in Christian art. Similar nail-headed rays appear on the stars in the mosaic of Sta. Agnese in Rome²⁹ and in the frescoes of Civate and Saint-Savin;³⁰ they may be seen too in the personification of Day in the Gumpert Bible in Erlangen.³¹ The nail-headed form in Castelseprio may therefore be regarded as a variant of an older convention for the luminous cross. Even if the end strokes are derived from a type of cross, the arms extended beyond the nimbus may still be interpreted as ray-like elements which owe their character to the theological metaphor of Christ as light.

I am not at all sure that the cross with projecting

(Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie), ix, 1859, pp. 444-446. For the nimbus with linear rays on solar figures carved on amulets, see Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets*, Ann Arbor, 1950, pl. xi, no. 236, pl. iv, nos. 83 and 86; and the same writer's article "Amulets chiefly in the British Museum," *Hesperia*, xx, 1951, pl. 97, no. 32.

22. An interesting parallel to the three rays of Christ is the description by the Carolingian poet, Sedulius Scottus (carm. 31), of an image of the personified Medicina painted in a hospital—she is represented with three rays issuing from her brow: "Haec regina potens rutilo descendit Olimpo. . . Fronteque florifera cui lumina terna coruscant." (J. von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der karolingischen Kunst*, Vienna, 1896, p. 381, no. 1027.) The analogy with Christ depended perhaps on the metaphor of Christ as *medicus* or *archiater* common since Origen. See R. Arbesmann, "The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine," *Traditio*, x, 1954, pp. 1ff.

23. On the early types, see E. Weigand, "Der Monogrammnimbus auf der Tür von S. Sabina in Rom," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxx, 1929-1930, pp. 587-595, and especially p. 593.

24. See *Cahiers archéologiques*, vii, pp. 143, 144.

25. Cf. the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, *Adoration of the Magi* (van Berchem and Clouzot, *op.cit.*, fig. 51); Naples, Baptistery dome (*ibid.*, fig. 119); Albenga, Baptistery (*ibid.*, fig. 128); Ravenna, S. Apollinare in Classe (*ibid.*, fig. 202); the Cambrai *Apocalypse* (Boinet, *op.cit.*, pl. 106 B); the Milan gold altar of Vulvius, *Nativity and Christ in Glory*; Codex Egberti, *Magi*, (Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, ii, pl. 6).

26. Cf. a Chnubis amulet reproduced by E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period*, New York, 1953, iii, fig. 1096; a statue of Attis from Ostia in the Lateran Museum (F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4th ed., Paris, 1929, pl. iv, opp. p. 66); a Gallo-Roman bronze figure of Dispat in the Walters Art Gallery (*The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, x, 1947,

pp. 84ff.); the nimbed bust of the Sun in Vatican Ms gr. 699; Cosmas Indicopleustes (C. Stornaiolo, *Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste*, Milan, 1908, pl. 52); Sacramentary of Henry II, Bamberg (A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, ii, pl. 75); solar emblems on Gaulish coins (A. Blanchet, *Manuel du numismatique française*, i, 1912, fig. 107). F. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, vi, 1, 1940, p. 31, interprets the end-points or knobs of the rayed nimbus or solar wheel as points of light (*apices*) rather than as stars.

27. Cf. the Bamberg *Apocalypse* (H. Wölfflin, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, Munich, 1921, pls. 29, 31); Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. Ms 99, fol. 23 (*Bulletin de la Société Française pour la Réproduction des Manuscrits à Peintures*, 6e année, 1922, pl. xxiii); Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouv. Acq. lat. Ms 1132, fol. 17. Cf. also angels with rayed nimbus and dots or little circles at the ends of the rays, in Trier Ms 31 (*Apocalypse*), fol. 22; Cambrai Ms 386 (*Apocalypse*), fol. 13; Madrid, Bibl. Nac. HH58 (Beatus), fol. 96v, 97; *Annunciation* by Filippo Lippi, National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (rays with knobbed ends).

28. See Andreas Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten, Ein verkanntes Propagandamittel der stadtrömischen Aristokratie in ihrem Kampfe gegen das christliche Kaisertum*, Budapest, 1943, i, p. 133, no. 34, ii, pl. XLIII, 7; Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (Numismatic Studies, No. 5, The American Numismatic Society), New York, 1944, p. 236, n. 34, and pl. xxxix, 5 (photograph). The same nail-headed rays appear on amulets of Chnoubis, a lion-headed snake with solar affinities—see Bonner, in *Hesperia*, xx, 1951, pp. 339, 340, no. 65, and pl. 99, and copies in nos. 66, 67. Bonner regards all three as modern works based possibly on old models (see pp. 308f.).

29. Van Berchem and Clouzot, *op.cit.*, fig. 247.

30. In Civate, in the *Apocalyptic Vision of the Dragon*; in Saint-Savin, in the *Creation of the Sun and Moon*.

31. Georg Swarzenski, *Die salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1914, ii, pl. xxxiv, fig. 114.

arms, whether solid or ray-like, was in every case designed to express the metaphorical luminosity of Christ. In some examples it might have been repeated as a fossilized type without thought of its figurative meaning, much like words of which the original sense has been lost. That the old meaning was still alive in the region of Castelseprio at the end of the eighth century seems evident, however, from the radiant aspect of the cross on the medallion bust of Christ in the Egino codex, a manuscript of homilies of the Latin church fathers, which was written in Verona between 790 and 799.³² The three arms of the cross passing beyond the circular frame are formed by bundles of rays. In another Lombard manuscript of the ninth century, the Homilies of Gregory in the Chapter library of Vercelli (MS CXLVIII), an ordinary closed cross nimbus is inscribed LUX, with one letter on each of the three solid members of the cross.³³

For the problem of the frescoes of Castelseprio—their date, their place in mediaeval art—it does not matter perhaps whether the ray-like form of the cross was conceived explicitly as a symbol of the divine light or was only an inherited convention adopted because of its congenial form. The rendering of the arms of the cross by a rapid stroke reaching beyond the nimbus seems to accord better with the impulsive sketchy style of the artist than would a massive form. In the medallion bust of Christ in the same series, the cross is of the more common type and is confined by the nimbus; but this painting of Christ already suggests another attitude of the artist—he is reproducing an iconic image, frontal and severe, and accepts the conventions of the canonical model which are in principle opposed to the forms of his own art.

Grabar believes, however, that the varieties of the rayed cross nimbus have some historical significance and provide a means of dating the frescoes. In another article in which he deals more specifically with the different types of cross that project beyond the nimbus, Grabar distinguishes not only between the thin and the solid form but also between the thin cross with the terminal stroke, like a nail head, as in Castelseprio, and the thin cross without this element.³⁴ Carolingian artists knew the latter, but Grabar has found examples of the Castelseprio type only in Ottonian works. He asserts that while Carolingian artists invented the projecting linear type, it was in the Ottonian period that the thin

cross first acquired the terminal strokes. From this he concludes that although the painter of Castelseprio was strongly influenced by the art of Constantinople, these frescoes are related to the Ottonian Renaissance and must be more or less contemporary with the Ottonian miniatures in which the same type of cross appears.³⁵

This is a surprising inference, since it would bring the date of the frescoes into the second half of the tenth century or even into the eleventh—the Salzburg manuscript which he has cited as the Ottonian parallel (Morgan MS 780) was made about 1070. Elsewhere he has spoken of the frescoes as works of the ninth century, and has admitted the possibility of a still earlier date in the Carolingian period.³⁶

But it is unnecessary to go beyond his article in order to criticize his reasoning or the fluctuation in his dating of Castelseprio. For precisely this form of the nimbed cross with the nail-head ending of the rays occurs in Carolingian manuscripts: the Stuttgart and Utrecht Psalters, a fragment now in Düsseldorf which comes from the same center or school as the Utrecht Psalter (Fig. 6),³⁷ and, in the region of Castelseprio, the Canons of Councils in the Chapter Library of Vercelli (Fig. 7).³⁸ All these, except the latter, are listed by Grabar in his article, but he has overlooked the terminal strokes of the cross and classified the examples in these manuscripts with the plain Carolingian types.

The criterion on which Grabar built his conclusion should require him then to date the frescoes early in the Carolingian period. But it would be imprudent to base the dating on a single detail of which the history is still so little known. If the frescoes are to be placed in the later eighth century, as I have supposed, it is for a number of reasons beside the evidence of the rayed cross. The latter has some value, however, since of the many surviving works with the cross nimbus, none before the Carolingian period shows the peculiar form that occurs in Castelseprio, and the Carolingian works that present this form share other traits with the frescoes.

Future discoveries may disclose examples of this cross older than the Carolingian works. To Grabar's belief that the simple linear cross extending beyond the nimbus, but without the terminal strokes, was a Carolingian invention one can oppose an engraved gem in the British Museum attributed to the early Christian period (Fig. 8).³⁹ It is a red jasper found

32. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phillips MS 1676 (E. Arslan, *op.cit.*, pp. 42, 43).

33. See Noemi Gabrielli, "Le miniature delle omelie di San Gregorio," *Arte del primo millennio* (Atti del II° Convegno per lo studio dell'Arte dell'alto medioevo, Pavia, 1950) Turin, n.d., pl. 149, pp. 301ff. The same inscription LUX appears also in Vercelli, Bibl. capitolare MS LXII, fol. 22v, 103r.

34. "Les fresques de Castelseprio et l'occident," *Frühmittelalterliche Kunst in den Alpenländern* (Akten zum III. internationalen Kongress für Frühmittelalterforschung, September 9-14, 1951), Olten and Lausanne, 1954, pp. 85-93.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

36. "Les fresques de Castelseprio," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, July 1950 (published in 1951), pp. 107-114, and especially pp. 113, 114. See also Grabar's book, *Byzantine Painting*, New

York, 1953, p. 86.

37. Landesbibliothek, MS 113, a fragment of Rabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*; another example in a missal of the tenth century in the same library (MS D 3), in a drawing of the Crucifixion. Cf. also Carolingian examples in the Marmoutiers sacramentary, Autun, Bibl. mun. MS 19 bis (Boinet, *op.cit.*, pl. XLI), and Nancy evangiles (*ibid.*, pl. XXVII). For a clear example of the nimbus with nail-head rays in the Utrecht psalter, see E. T. DeWald, *The illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, 1932, pl. XCI (fol. 57r).

38. MS CLXV. Cf. N. Gabrielli, *op.cit.*, (note 33 above), pp. 303ff. from which our Figs. 7 and 11 are reproduced.

39. See A. de Longpérier and E. Le Blant in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, XXX, 1866, p. 111. The gem is now in the British Museum (no. 56231) and has been

in Gaza, with a scene of the Crucifixion and an undeciphered inscription that Le Blant believed was of gnostic origin.⁴⁰ I cannot say more about this object; its date is uncertain and nothing decisive seems to have been added to the comments of de Longpérier and Le Blant published in 1867.⁴¹ On the other hand, the broad-armed cross extending beyond the nimbus, as it appears in the Cotton Genesis, is less rare in the early Christian period than I had supposed. It is found also on two engraved gems in Cambridge and The Hague.⁴²

2. THE CLAVUS ON THE THIGH

I pass to another detail of the frescoes which has been a matter of dispute. In my article on Castelseprio I called attention to a peculiarity of costume that might serve as an indication of the date and perhaps throw light on the origin of the work. It is the transverse ornamental band sewn across the middle of the thigh on the long tunic or the mantle (Fig. 9), an element that is frequent in Carolingian and Italian art of the late eighth and ninth centuries.⁴³ It was preceded in the seventh and eighth centuries by a related form—the shorter *paragaudae*—that survived into the ninth century; it must be distinguished too from another ornament, the horizontal bands on hose.⁴⁴ Morey objected to using this bit of costume as an evidence of a date in the eighth century since he believed that it had already occurred in a work of the sixth.⁴⁵ But in the figures of mounted Amazons on the silk fabric in the Cote Collection in Lyons which he has cited, I find no trace of such a transverse clavus across the thigh (Fig. 10). Morey has mistaken for the element I had described a simple hem at the lower edge of a short tunic that reaches to the thigh. The same form reappears in other

silks with the same motif of the Amazons.⁴⁶ I cannot regard as relevant Morey's observation that the clavus across the thigh in Castelseprio "is of the same character as the waist band worn by David in the miniature of the Penitence in the Paris Psalter."

One can hardly be sure that this peculiar band was first used in the eighth century; but until now I have found it in no works that can be securely dated before this time. It could have been a fashion in Constantinople (or some other center) for a short time in the eighth century, from which little of the art produced in the capital has come down; such a form might have persisted longer in the art of provincial regions, like Italy and France, where it had been accepted as a pictorial element rather than as part of real costume. The fact that among surviving works the transverse clavus spanning the thigh first appears in the West after the common use there in the seventh and eighth centuries of an older Eastern type of appliqué on the thigh,⁴⁷ seems to confirm its later origin.

For the possibility that the Carolingian artists copied this detail from a much earlier model there is some indication in a manuscript that I have cited: the illustrated Sedulius in the Musée Plantin in Antwerp (MS 126). The models of the miniatures in this book, according to Professor Wilhelm Koehler, our best judge in these matters, were Italian paintings of about 500.⁴⁸ But between the Italian prototypes and the Carolingian copy there were undoubtedly mediating versions of which one was preserved in England; an inscription in the Antwerp codex reproduced from an earlier copy names an owner Cuduinus, whom Traube identified as the Bishop of Dunwich between 716 and 731.⁴⁹ The transverse clavus in these miniatures may belong to the model of 500 or to an Italian or insular copy—what-

reproduced by Bonner, *op.cit.*, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 336, 337, no. 54, pl. 98. For this information I am grateful to Mr. John Beckwith and Dr. A. A. Barb. Our Fig. 8 is from the engraving in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "Gemmes," fig. 4945.

40. A. de Longpérier and E. Le Blant, *loc.cit.*

41. For later comment see, besides Bonner, *loc.cit.*, L. Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1928, p. 81; R. Zahn and J. Reil, "Orpheos Bakkikos," *Angelos* II, 1926, pp. 63, 64; J. Reil, *Christus am Kreuz in der Bildkunst der Karolingerzeit*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 3.

42. See Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "Gemmes," col. 846, fig. 5088 (The Hague, Museum, *Entry into Jerusalem*), fig. 5090 (Lewis Collection, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *Crucifixion*). On the latter see also E. Babelon, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, LVII, 1896, pp. 194, 195—he attributes the gem to Syria in the seventh or eighth century. Note also a trace of the same type of rayed cross nimbus in the encolpium of a gold cross in the Dzyalinska collection at Goluchow, an Italian work attributed variously to the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "Assomption," col. 2993, fig. 1027).

43. See ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, p. 160. To the examples listed there should be added the Valenciennes *Apocalypse* (MS 99, fol. 3) and the recently discovered frescoes of the ninth century in St. John at Müstair (Switzerland) (L. Birchler, "Zur karolingischen Architektur und Malerei in Münster-Müstair," *Frühmittelalterliche Kunst in den Alpenländern*, Olten and Lausanne, 1954, pp. 167-252, fig. 96). An example in the Morgan Library *Beatus*, MS 644, fol. 9v (also fol. 181v), early tenth century, may go back to the model of

the late eighth century.

44. As on the hose of a Persian Magus in the Adoration scene in the Menologion of Basil II in Vatican MS gr. 1613 (Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio*, Princeton, 1951, fig. 66), and as on the costume of lay figures in the tenth century Athens MS 211 (reproduced by Grabar in *Recueil d'études*, Seminarium Kondakovianum, Prague, V, 1932, pl. XVIII, 2).

45. "Castelseprio and the Byzantine Renaissance," ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, p. 199 n. 70.

46. Cf. the piece in Cologne—Peirce and Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, II, pl. 185, and also *Ars Orientalis*, I, 1954, opp. p. 192 for an example in Dumbarton Oaks and one formerly in the Sangiorgi Collection. Dr. Florence Day (*ibid.*, p. 240) cites the shroud of St. Fridolin as the earliest example of the Amazon motif in silk, dating it in the sixth century, but notes that the type continues into the eighth century and into Islamic art.

47. See ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, p. 160, for a brief account of its history.

48. "Die Denkmäler der karolingischen Kunst in Belgien" in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Munich, 1923, pp. 9, 19, figs. 8, 9.

49. In the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXVII, 1901, pp. 267ff. A. S. Cook has identified the name with another person ("Bishop Cuthwini of Leicester [680-691]," *Speculum*, II, 1927, pp. 253-257); but W. Levison, *England and the Continent*, 1946, pp. 133, 134, has rejected Cook's opinion and supported Traube.

ever its date—or it may have been introduced for the first time in the Carolingian version.⁵⁰ The initial P on folio 8 is clearly of the later eighth or ninth century and the furniture, too, points to this period. If the miniatures depend ultimately on prototypes of the early sixth century, this fact does not entail the same date for the ornament of the costume.

The same question arises for the Trier Apocalypse, a work attributed by Goldschmidt to the end of the eighth century.⁵¹ The transverse thigh band occurs here often in the form which we observe at Castelseprio; and since the illustrations in this manuscript were copied from older models, perhaps of the sixth century, one must consider the possibility that this detail was part of the original work. There are two reasons, however, for doubting this. First, the thigh band, so frequent in the Trier Apocalypse, does not appear in the Carolingian sister manuscript in Cambrai (386) which surely descended from the same prototype.⁵² In the second place, the thigh band does occur on a flyleaf of the Trier manuscript in an early Carolingian drawing of Christ Treading on the Beasts, which is independent of the illustrations of the Apocalypse and by another hand.⁵³ It is close in style to the Genoels-Elderen ivory plaques in Brussels, where the same thigh band is rendered;⁵⁴ these ivory carvings are of the late eighth century and combine insular and Italian features—they have been commonly placed in or near the region of the Ada School.⁵⁵ I had noted before their relation in iconography to the frescoes of Castelseprio (Annunciation, Visitation);⁵⁶ to which may be added—as of some interest for the North Italian, as distinguished from the Roman, connections of Carolingian art—the resemblance of the drapery forms in these ivory panels, and particularly of Christ Treading on the Beasts, to the stucco figures of the eighth century in Cividale.⁵⁷

There is a North Italian work which supports the possibility that the motif of the thigh band, as it appears in the Antwerp manuscript of Sedulius and the Trier Apocalypse, already existed in the first half of the eighth century. In the sculptured panels of the altar in Cividale, dedicated around 737 to the memory of Duke Pemmo (d. 734) by his son Ratchis, the transverse stripes on the robes of the angels⁵⁸ seem to represent

triple bands of clavi like those on several figures in the Sedulius manuscript and particularly on the flying angel in the scene of Daniel who in other respects betrays a family resemblance to the Cividale angels.⁵⁹ In the primitive relief carving of this altar, it is not easy to say what represents costume ornament and what is ornamental stylization of folds. But a connection with the clavi seems to me possible.

Earlier I had noted the occurrence of the clavus on the thigh in images of Lombard kings in a manuscript of laws in La Cava (Badia Ms 4), apparently copied from a model of the ninth century.⁶⁰ This suggested the possible origin of the motif in royal costume. It is not at all characteristic of the dress of Byzantine or Carolingian rulers, though it does appear on the costume of kings and crowned Magi in Ottonian art. In Castelseprio and in Carolingian works the clavus is found more particularly on the thighs of angels. But in drawings of the ninth century in a native manuscript in Vercelli (Biblioteca Capitolare Ms CLXV, Canons of Councils)⁶¹ the clavus, decorated with dots or beads as in Castelseprio, is applied just below the knee on enthroned figures whose foreshortened thighs are not visible; these are the emperors Constantine and Theodosius II (Fig. 11).⁶² Here one may assume, I think, that the band below the knee has been transferred from the thigh. The transverse clavus in this manuscript is not limited to the emperors; two seated clerics at a council wear the same ornament.⁶³ What makes these drawings even more interesting for the problem of Castelseprio is that Christ in one of the miniatures (Fig. 7) has a nimbus with nail-headed linear rays crossing the circle.⁶⁴ All the thrones are of the simple block type that appears in the painting of the Hetoimasia at Castelseprio. The drawings in this manuscript show that several distinctive motifs of the frescoes existed elsewhere in Lombardy in the ninth century.

It may be argued that the two elements considered in these notes—the rayed cross nimbus and the thigh band—occur in Ottonian as well as Carolingian art, and that the present study therefore points only to a probable *terminus post quem* for Castelseprio: the frescoes are not earlier than the eighth century and may well be of the tenth. If I incline to the view that the

50. The form had already reached the North in the second half of the eighth century in late Merovingian art; it appears clearly in a manuscript of Corbie, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11627, fol. 1v (E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916-1918, plates, vol. II, pl. 109).

51. *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, p. 9, fig. 5 (Stadtbibliothek Ms 31, fols. 5, 6, 9, 17, etc.). On this manuscript see also W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration*, Münster (Westphalia), 1931, I, 248ff.

52. See Neuss, *op.cit.*, pp. 248, 249.

53. Reproduced by Goldschmidt, *loc.cit.*

54. *Ibid.*, I, pl. 1 (the angel of the Annunciation).

55. For the most recent views, see W. F. Volbach, "Ivoires mosans du Haut Moyen Age originaires de la région de la Meuse," in *L'Art mosan (Journées d'études, Paris, February, 1952)*, Recueil préparé par P. Francastel, Paris, 1953, pp. 43-46.

56. ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, pp. 153, 154.

57. A. Haseloff, *Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy*, New York (1930 ?), pls. 48-50, and articles by H. J. Torp and L'Orange in the *Atti del 2° Congresso internazionale di studi sul' alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1953.

58. C. Cecchelli, *I monumenti del Friuli del secolo IV all' XI*, I, Cividale, Milan and Rome, 1943, pl. 1.

59. Koehler, *op.cit.*, fig. 8.

60. ART BULLETIN, XXXIV, 1952, p. 160.

61. See Gabrielli, *op.cit.* (note 33 above), pp. 303, 304, pls. CLVIII, CLIX. The author dates the manuscript in the last quarter of the eighth century, but the script points to the ninth.

62. This detail does not appear on ecclesiastical or imperial dress in the painting of a council under Theodosius I (362) in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms gr 510 (Omont, *Manuscripts grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, pl. L).

63. Gabrielli, *loc.cit.*, pl. CLXIII (Council of Constantinople, 381).

64. *Ibid.*, pl. CLXII.

frescoes are of the eighth century, it is because their style fits better between the classical forms of S. Maria Antiqua and the classicism of the Carolingian schools than between the Byzantine miniatures of the tenth century and Ottonian art, where others have placed the frescoes; and this earlier dating is supported by a number of details, including the painted uncial inscriptions which seem so much older than the inscriptions recording the ordination of a priest, added in the tenth century, that a palaeographer like Lowe could date them in the sixth century.

After this paper was written, I observed what appears to be the motif of the transverse clavus on a work of the sixth century. It is the set of fragments of the ivory panel that originally formed the counterpiece of the leaf of the Murano diptych now in Ravenna. (See W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., Mainz, 1952, p. 65, nos. 127-129, pl. 39, 40, 45.) The thigh band is most evident and most like the form in Castelseprio on the figure of Saint Anne (in the fragment in the Hermitage in Leningrad-Volbach, no. 129, pl. 40). But this detail belongs to the painted ornamentation of the ivory panel together with the gold stars on the background. Although the painting is old, there remains a doubt concerning its age; we are not sure that it is of the same time as the carving. The motif of the appliqué thigh band is not found in plastic form in other works of the same group or school of ivory sculpture. Yet on one of the fragments of the same diptych (formerly in the Stroganoff Collection and now in private hands in Paris) representing the Annunciation, the Trial by Water and the Journey to Bethlehem, of which the last two are uncommon themes and occur also in Castelseprio with some remarkable similarities of conception in the Journey (Volbach, no. 128, pl. 45), there are incised lines that may be interpreted as the thigh band in question, unless they are, as Dr. Volbach supposes (in a letter to the writer), simply schematic grooves representing folds; the photographs are not clear enough to permit a definite judgment.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

UNNOTICED FRAGMENTS OF OLD STAINED GLASS IN NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS

PAUL FRANKL

It may be assumed that at the time of their construction (1296-1330) the east chapels of Notre-Dame in Paris were furnished throughout with stained glass windows. These were destroyed, perhaps during the Enlightenment or the French Revolution. When Viollet-le-Duc restored Notre-Dame (1845-1856) the chapels were provided with new stained glass similar in style to that of the thirteenth century. Glass painters of this period liked to set into their new works bits of old glass which were left over after a building had been restored. Here, however, a whole pane was employed and was used as the basis for the design of the entire window

(Figs. 1-3). This is probably the chief reason why the pane has been overlooked for nearly a hundred years. The window in question is the first from the left of the three windows in the middle choir chapel and the pane is the first on the left in the second row from the bottom. Another reason why it has not been noticed is the difficulty of gaining access to it from the outside. If one obtains permission to enter the little garden, however, one can clearly see from the patina which of the panes are original. But it is also possible to see from the inside, in the ambulatory, that the pane and the tendril band to the left of it are old, since they are darker in color than the rest of the glass (Fig. 2). No one will question the fact that these portions are ancient. The theory that while the glass is old the design is new, and that the whole pattern is *réarrangé*, is untenable because the faces of the two women and the lines on their garments are different and very much better in quality than those elsewhere in the same window.

The design represents two women without halos, both facing right and each with her right hand pointing upward (Fig. 1). A little above knee height are letters of which a capital *S* is legible on the left and a capital *C* on the right. Above the letters following the *S* is a contraction sign. The first of the small letters is perhaps an *i*, followed by what may be a *b* cut off by the new lead. This portion of the inscription may be read as "Sibylla." Following the *C* on the right is an illegible letter, perhaps a *v* with the remains of a contraction sign above it. The *C* may probably be construed as the beginning of *Cumae*.¹

The two sibyls are standing against a blue background in an architectonic frame. A pointed clover-leaf arch rests on slender red shafts and is surmounted by a yellow Gothic gable with crockets and (restored) finial which cuts across a horizontal gallery of six yellow tracery windows. On either side of this Gothic frame are green frontal buttresses and two lateral buttresses in profile. Each buttress is made up of four segments separated by Gothic cornices. Blind tracery appears on the frontal buttresses, and a pattern of joints on the lateral ones.

From these two figures the nineteenth century painter devised a composition of twelve sibyls and twelve apostles (Fig. 3). The window has four axes of equal breadth. In the first and fourth, *a* and *d*, he placed six sibyls and in each of the two middle axes, *b* and *c*, six apostles. The two lower rows contain two figures each, the two upper rows, one each. This distribution may correspond to some original pattern since there are pieces of old glass above and below the section which is preserved in its entirety.² The old pane is only about half as wide as the window axis. For the apostles the painter developed a frame by adding narrow open arches with gables. For the sibyls he employed the re-

recognized as old three other portions of the window: in the first and third rows in the second axis and a piece of tendril in the first and second rows in the fourth axis. Elsewhere also little fragments of old glass were used.

1. Concerning the sibyl theme, cf. Pauli-Wissowa, *Real-Lexikon der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2. Serie, II, Stuttgart, 1923, cols. 2073-2183, and Wilhelm Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin der ältere und seine Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 15ff.

2. This observation was made by Louis Grodecki, who

mains of a tendril band which he continued into the pointed arch at the top. A mediaeval painter would never have allowed a border of this kind to break off so abruptly, but would have continued it symmetrically. The structure of four porches with figures one above the other culminates in a steep roof giving it the character of a tower. On the roofs of both *a* and *d* there are two storks.

A letter of Viollet-le-Duc of September 21, 1855, gives information concerning the commissioning of the stained glass for the three windows of the Mary chapel, one to Alfred Gérente, a second to Lusson and Didron, and a third to Nicolas Coffetier and Louis Charles Steinheil.³ The window to the extreme right is probably by Gérente. In the case of the first window on the left the storks are probably to be regarded as a kind of signature. Steinheil was born in Strasbourg in 1814. He painted a vault fresco of the Last Judgment in the cathedral there and certainly knew that the stork is the emblem of Strasbourg since every year until around 1900 these birds would gather there on their flight to North Africa. With the drying up of the old moats and the increase of coal smoke the storks ceased to appear.⁴ Steinheil was a connoisseur of mediaeval art and quite capable of creating the design of the window himself, but it is possible that he was assisted by Viollet-le-Duc.

The provenance of the old fragments is unknown. Because of the shape of the frame they fit into the Swiss group of Blumenstein, Könitz, Münchenbuchsee, Kappel, and Oberkirch.⁵ The architectonic frame, the elements of which are derived from the external architecture of the Sainte-Chapelle, were introduced into miniature painting in the psalter of St. Louis and in 1260 into stained glass in the cathedral of Tours. Examples of early phases of this are to be seen in the stained glass of Chartres. Stylistically the frame of the sibyls belongs to the same phase as the stained glass from Konstanz which is in the Freiburg cathedral⁶ and the group of glass paintings in the church of St. Elisabeth in Marburg—*Madonna and Child, John the Baptist*⁷—which were executed after 1311 and before 1317. These frames are related in form to the stained glass from Mutzig in Alsace which is now on exhibit in the Frauenhaus in Strasbourg.⁸ The date of the pane with the two sibyls may therefore be placed around 1320 and its geographical origin traced to Switzer-

land or Alsace. The style is linear, the proportions are very slender, and the bodies are given a slight S curve. The quality is good, the colors possess a deep glow and a quiet harmony.

Other fragments of old stained glass are preserved in the two circular panes in the tracery of the same middle chapel. The one in the first window on the left shows Mary enthroned with the Child standing on her knee (Fig. 3). The four pinnacles of the throne are old and it is possible that the new parts are derived from a composition which was still partially preserved in 1855.

The circular picture on the right represents the Ascension of Mary. She is surrounded by a large mandorla of clouds and is wearing a white dress and blue cloak. In her right hand she holds a lily, in her left, a book. The four angels swinging the censers are new.

The two medallions fit so well into the tracery that one wonders whether they may not have been a part of the original contents of the window since they too are of the period around 1320. In this case the central window would have contained a Death of Mary and other scenes from the life of the Virgin.

The fragments with the sibyls, however, cannot be regarded as part of the old stained glass of Notre-Dame. Although they are of the period in which the chapels were built, they do not fit the measurements of the chapel window nor those of any other window in this church.

It must likewise be assumed that the fragments of the tendril band beside the sibyls originally came from another church. They are difficult to date. The form, for example, is more fluid than the Alpirsbach border⁹ and the border patterns reproduced by Zschokke,¹⁰ which also cannot be dated precisely. Perhaps the tendril belongs to the period about 1300.

The dating of the two original sibyls around 1320 represents a small addition to our knowledge of the stained glass which has been preserved from the fourteenth century. It also contributes to our appreciation of nineteenth century methods of preserving historical monuments. It is greatly to the credit of these restorers that connoisseurs have failed for so long to notice that original glass had been fitted into a neo-Gothic work.

PRINCETON, N.J.

3. Knowledge of this letter I owe to M. Louis Grodecki.

4. Since 1900 the storks have gathered in the environs of Ebermünster.

5. Reproduced in Hans Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte der Glasmalerei in der Schweiz*, I, Zurich, 1906, pp. 180ff.

6. Fritz Geiges, *Der mittelalterliche Fensterschmuck des freiburger Münsters*, Freiburg i. Br., 1931, pp. 330-345.

7. Arthur Haseloff, *Die Glasgemälde der Elisabeth Kirche in Marburg*, Berlin, 1906, p. 20, pls. 17, 18.

8. Hans Wentzel, "Das Mutziger Kreuzigungsfenster . . .,"

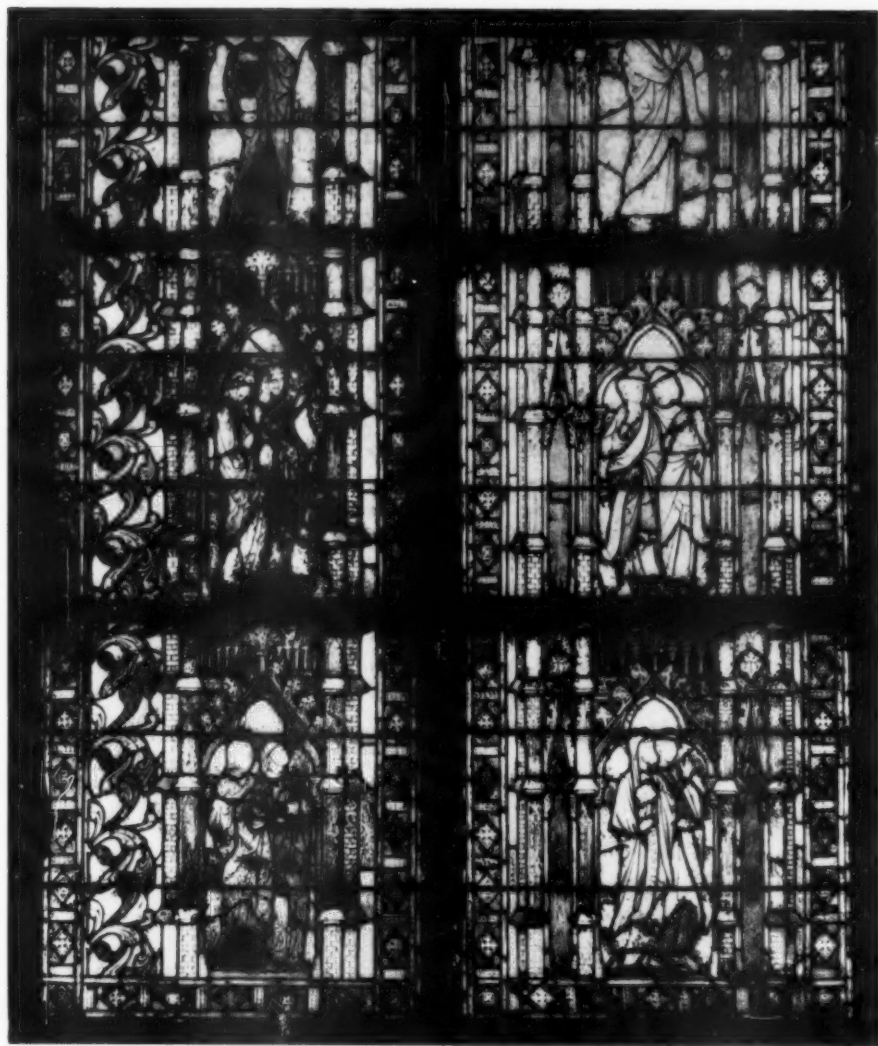
Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte, XIV, Zurich, 1953, pp. 159ff.

9. Leo Balet, *Schwäbische Glasmalerei*, Stuttgart, 1912, pl. II.

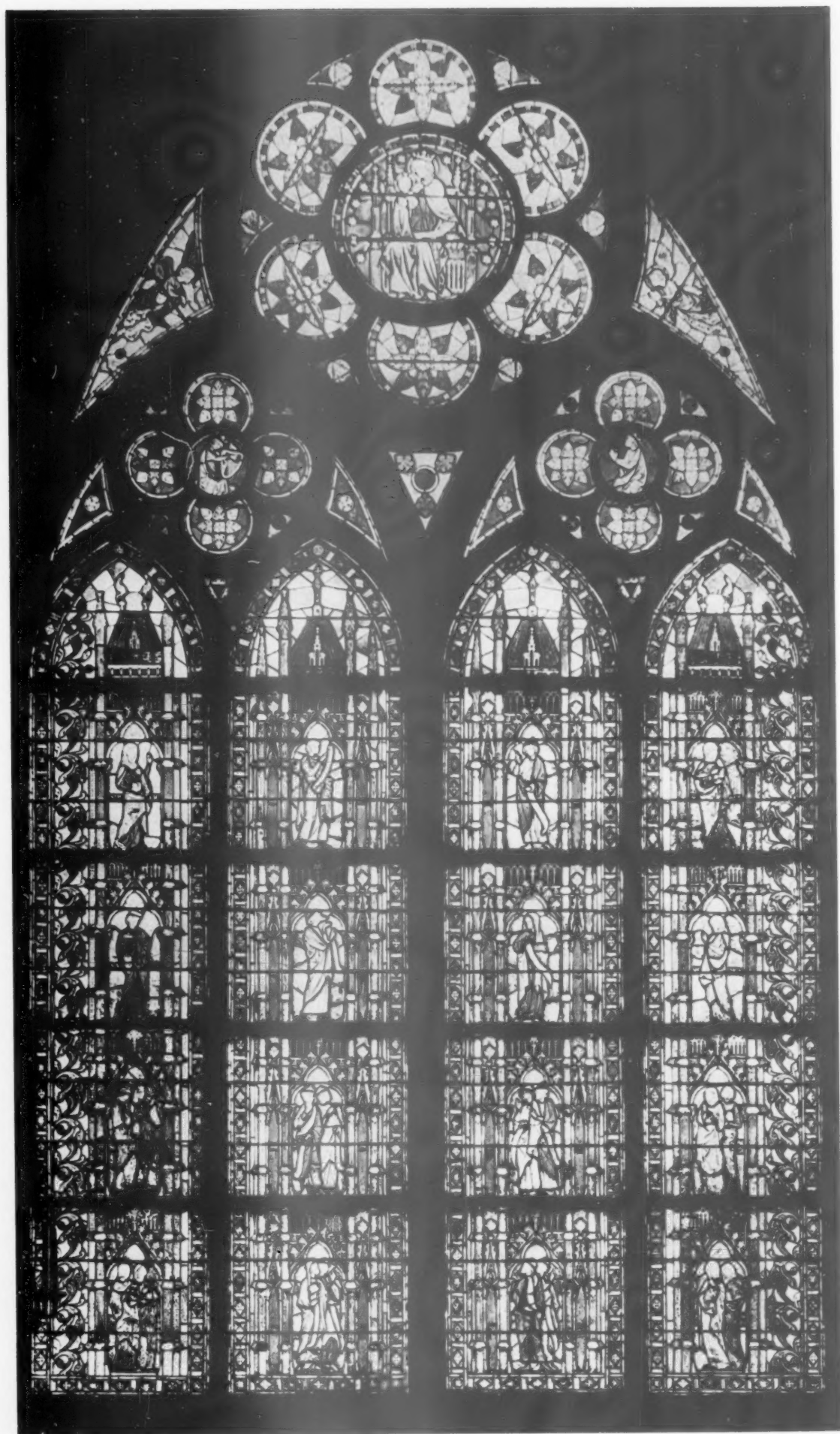
10. Fritjof Zschokke, *Die romanischen Glasgemälde des strassburger Münsters*, Basel, 1942, pp. 108, 109, and *passim*. Cf. also Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits*, Paris, 1924, pl. LIV, and Hans Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 106, no. 613.



1. Two Sibyls (ca. 1320). Notre-Dame, Paris, window of middle choir chapel



2. Two Sibyls contrasted with surrounding frames and surrounding restoration (1855)



3. Notre-Dame, Paris, window of middle choir chapel

QUESTIONS OF IDENTITY IN VERONESE'S CHRIST AND THE CENTURION*

PHILIPP FEHL

The painting *Christ and the Centurion* (Fig. 1) in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City is one of several versions of the same subject painted by Veronese and his school.¹ Other versions are in the galleries of the Prado, Vienna, Munich, and Dresden.² Next to the painting in the Prado (of which it is, to some extent, a simplified version) it may well be considered the most impressive of the various renditions. The picture has recently been restored with much success.³

The task of representing successfully the story of Christ and the Centurion in a picture is by its nature exceedingly difficult, for the lesson of the miracle requires that its effect take place in a locality removed from the scene, i.e., if the unities of time and space are to be observed, outside of the picture. Since no iconographic tradition of the picture existed, Veronese was called upon to invent the representation of a dramatic action which transcended visible dramatic fact.

Of the two accounts of the miracle (Matthew 7:5-13 and Luke 7:7-10) the artist followed that of St. Matthew.

5 And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching,

6 And saying, Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented.

7 And Jesus said unto him, I will come and heal him.

8 The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed.

9 For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: I say to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth it.

10 When Jesus heard it, he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.

11 And I say unto you, That many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.

* I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. Patrick J. Kelleher, Curator of European Art at the Nelson Gallery of Art, for his kind response to the many requests I have made of him.

1. 56 x 82 inches. The painting was formerly in the possession of Sir Anthony Mildmay of Dogmersfield Park, Fleet, Hants. It would seem that there is, in places, a considerable contrast in the quality of the execution of the bodies of the figures and that of their heads. The latter show the hand of a master. The invention of the picture is certainly by Veronese.

2. The painting in Dresden was reported lost "durch Kriegsschaden." I do not know if it was among the paintings recently returned by the Russian government.

3. Mr. James Roth, the conservator at the Nelson Gallery, very kindly supplied me with the following notes:

"The sky had been completely repainted in a rather intense blue. The area immediately behind the head and flag at the

12 But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

13 And Jesus said unto the centurion, Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done to thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour.

The story is compressed into one dramatic scene which is shown at its climax. The words "Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee" have just been pronounced. Unseen by us, or by the people in the scene, but within reach of their and our awareness, the miracle is effected at this very moment. Christ is about to turn and to resume his ascent of the stairs on the left, which had been interrupted by the arrival of the centurion. The greatness of the centurion who has humbled himself for the sake of his servant, and the overpowering simplicity of his faith, are manifest in a dramatic silence, in the communion of understanding between Christ and the centurion. It is this silence which makes us credit the invisible miracle.

At the extreme left and right of the picture there are represented several striking figures whose presence on the scene appears at first glance to be incongruous. Their manner of dress suggests that they belong to regions distant in time and space from the miracle in Capernaum. At the left appears the figure of a Turk, and at the extreme right there stand two figures in modern armor (Fig. 2). Sumptuous figures of this kind appear very often in the work of Veronese. It is popularly credited that Veronese painted them because he cared more for the decoration or the formal composition (as some will have it) of his pictures, than for his subject matter. In the instance of the work before us, however, the seeming lack of relation between these people and the story appears to be the very source of their legitimate and necessary presence in the picture.

The text in Matthew given above contains besides the description of the miracle also the passage of the rejection of the children of Israel. The boundless faith of the centurion appears as the type and forerunner of the faith of which the Gentiles will show themselves capable. The Jews are doomed and the Gentiles are called: "And I say unto you that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

extreme right had been overpainted to represent a part of the sky. Removal of later sky revealed this area to be of a dark marble column. The white column at right was also painted over the original dark marble column. The small figure of a guard under the right arm of the centurion had been painted out. The pattern of the floor was pure invention of former restoration. Considerable damage and loss occurred in this area, and no attempt was made in the present restoration to make a reconstruction. Numerous glazes had been added to the figures, particularly in the darks."

I should like to add that together with many beautiful passages which Mr. Roth's work has brought to light again there appeared very elegantly, on the gem which is set in the centurion's left legpiece, the figures of Venus and Cupid. It is possible that the use of this motif in this particular instance was meant to suggest that pagan love bowed to Christian love.

I take the seemingly incongruous figures to be representative of the Gentiles from the East and the West. The Turk is shown actually engaged in conversation with one of the Apostles (we may assume that he is St. Matthew) who, with index finger raised, expounds to him the meaning of a miracle singular in that it cannot be verified at the time it is performed.⁴

The two representatives of the Gentiles from the West are differentiated from the rest of the company not only by their dress but also by the portrait character of their faces (Fig. 2).⁵ The interest of the spectator is engaged, above all, by the gentleman at the extreme right (the compositional counterpart of the Turk). He looks at us in a distant fashion; the index finger of his right hand expresses a gentle and yet urgent invitation to comprehend the scene. His hand also opens a sequence of meaningful hand positions and gestures which leads across the picture. At one time, before the picture was cut down, it must have ended with the hands of the Turk which were probably linked behind his back in absentminded concentration.

The sensitive, somewhat melancholy face, the pe-

culiar detachment of the gentleman from the miracle to the celebration of which he is yet dedicated, is not unlike that of the self-portrait of Veronese in the *Marriage at Cana* in the Louvre (Fig. 3). There the artist shows himself in the company of Titian, Jacopo Bassano, and Tintoretto. The artists make music while Christ's miracle is performed, and their backs are turned to the company, the saints as well as the revelers.⁶ A drawing in the Library of the École des Beaux-Arts which is traditionally recognized as a likeness of Veronese establishes the identity of the figure beyond reasonable doubt (Fig. 4).⁷

Scholars may perhaps be pleased to make use of the opportunity this identification provides for a *terminus ante quem non* concerning the date of this painting and very likely also that of its celebrated counterpart in the Prado. It will be noted that here Veronese's head is quite bald. In the "Marriage at Cana" (Fig. 3) which with certainty is dated September 8, 1563, Veronese painted with melancholy fastidiousness the image of a single lock of hair which then he was still able to comb across the crown of his head.⁸

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

4. In the Prado version the place of the Turk is taken by a turbaned Negro. The teaching gesture of the Apostle is even more pronounced. Behind the Apostle, looking with wide-eyed wonder at the kneeling centurion, is a figure with a singular headdress which should not be mistaken for that of a jester. Its construction is, I think, not unrelated to that of the hat of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus, which is still kept in Venice. A counterpart of this figure is in the extreme left of the picture in Kansas City. The picture must have been cut down on the left; only the face with the very telling eye has been preserved.

5. Mr. Bernard Berenson suggested that the portrait character of these figures is self-evident. (Cf. his letter of authentication on file with the Nelson Gallery.)

6. The identification of these figures appeared in Zanetti's *Della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1771, p. 172, together with the identification of other figures in the canvas as highborn personages like François I, the Marquis d'Avalos, Sultan Soleiman I and Vittoria Colonna. ("... io ebbi di tutto questo una tradizione in iscritto.") All these identifications have generally been accepted. I find the suggestion of the presence of the artists in the guise of musicians much more agreeable than that of princes who are in various stages of drunken stupor. The most convincing evidence for Zanetti's identification of the musicians is provided by the image of Titian, which strikingly resembles his self-portrait in the Prado.

7. Black chalk on blue paper. Mme. Bouleau-Rabaud, the Conservateur de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, very kindly informed me that M. Lavallée, in the catalogue of the exhibition *Art Italien des XV^e et XVI^e siècles à l'École des Beaux-Arts* (1935) attributes the drawing to Jacopo Bassano or his school and that he remarks that the sitter cannot be Veronese ("L'attribution à Paul Veronese ne saurait se soutenir, et ce n'est pas d'avantage son portrait. Le style et la facture de ce dessin rappellent plutôt la manière de Jacopo Bassano.")

The connection of the drawing with the painting in Kansas City which is here established suggests that a revision of this opinion is mandatory. I know the drawing only from a photograph. Its somewhat tired appearance may justify the suspicion that it is not by Veronese. It is perhaps not, as one would at first suppose, the sketch from which the painting was made, but, instead, a drawing made from the painting. However this

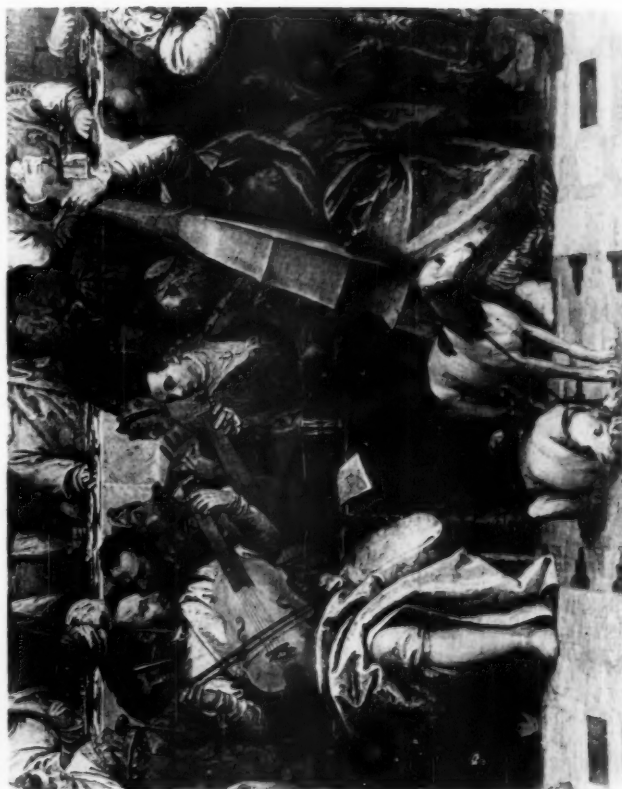
may be, the inscription on the frame of the drawing still suggests that its author was aware of the tradition which considered the image a likeness of Veronese. The painting which is now in Kansas City was at one time very likely also in Paris, as is shown by a page in a sketchbook attributed to Watteau (in the Morgan Library). It shows four heads (including the one here discussed) evidently copied from the painting. (This connection was established by Miss Felice Stampfle of the Morgan Library; cf. her letter on file with the Nelson Gallery.) The drawing and the painting may perhaps have been in common ownership for some time. That the figure represents Veronese may, in my opinion, also be seen when it is compared to the self-portrait in the Uffizi. Veronese is there much older and the painting is rather ruined. Still, the pose of the head is the same; and the likeness appears to me to be considerable. (For a reproduction cf. Antoine Orliac, *Veronese*, New York, 1940, p. 34. M. Orliac, incidentally, considers without question the drawing to be an authentic self-portrait.)

8. The date of the *Marriage at Cana* is established by documentary evidence. Cf. e.g., Orliac, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

The identity of the second gentleman in armor remains obscure. A certain family resemblance which perhaps may not be accidental exists between him and Alexander the Great in the *Family of Darius* in the National Gallery in London. (This picture was painted for the House of the Pisani of Venice.) The figure of Alexander certainly represents a member of this family. (Cf. e.g., Yriarte, *Paul Veronese*, Paris, n.d., p. 59.) An identification of the centurion as Agostino Barbarigo ("A Great Newspaper Builds a Great Art Museum," *Life*, October 9, 1939, p. 53) was proposed on the basis of the resemblance of this figure to a portrait in the Cleveland Museum of Art which is believed to represent the hero of the battle of Lepanto (Cf. Francis M. Kelly, "A Problem of Identity," *Connoisseur*, April, 1931, pp. 207-213). This identification of the centurion becomes rather untenable when it is considered that the color of the beard of the centurion in the Prado is dark brown and white and that of his counterpart in Kansas City reddish brown. The head of the centurion is comparable to that of other old men customarily used by Veronese, e.g. one of the elders in *Suzanna in the Bath* (Madrid, Dresden, Paris). A similarity between the head of the centurion and that of St. Jerome (Murano) was noted by Lionello Venturi when he published the painting (*L'Arte*, May, 1930, pp. 292ff.).



1. Veronese, *Christ and the Centurion*. Kansas City, Nelson Gallery of Art



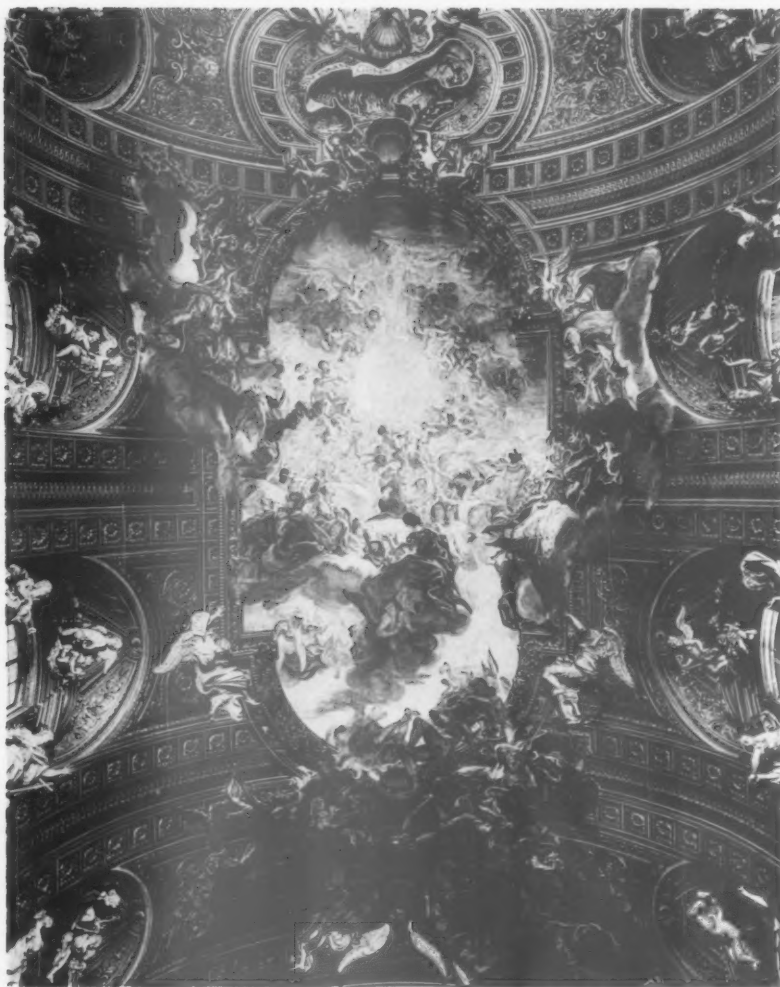
3. Veronese, *Marriage at Cana* (detail). Paris, Louvre



2. Detail of Fig. 1 (photograph taken during restoration)



4. Veronese (?), *Portrait of Veronese*. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts (photo: Giraudon)



1. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, fresco on the vault of the nave
Rome, Il Gesù (photo: Alinari)



2. *Fall of the Damned*, detail of Fig. 1 (photo: Anderson)



3. View showing frescoes of the pendentives and dome. Rome, Il Gesù (photo: Alinari)



4-5. Details of fresco in the dome, showing points where fresco crosses architectural enframement of windows (photos: Nordhagen)



6. Guido Ubaldo Abbatini, *Angelic Concert Surrounding the Dove of the Holy Ghost*, Rome, Sta. Maria della Vittoria (photo: Guidotti)



7. *St. Martha in Glory*, fresco on vault. Rome, Sta. Marta (photo: Anderson)



8. *Christ in Glory Receiving Franciscan Saints*, fresco on vault Rome, SS. Apostoli (photo: Alinari)

BERNINI, GAULLI, AND THE FRESCOES OF THE GESÙ

ROBERT ENGGASS

The frescoes that Giovanni Battista Gaulli painted during the years 1672 to 1685 in the Gesù in Rome are widely known. Great crowds attended their unveiling and in subsequent centuries they have been published regularly in periodicals, surveys of the Baroque, and virtually every guide of Rome. The fresco of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* on the nave vault (Figs. 1 and 2) is generally accepted as one of the major monuments in the history of ceiling painting. But strangely enough, Gaulli remains a minor artist. Of the large body of his surviving work, virtually nothing outside the Gesù is known to the general public. There is little mystery, however, as to why one remembers the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*. Its composition is daring and imaginative.

But is it too imaginative for Gaulli?¹ To examine this question properly one must turn to the relationship between Gaulli and the most imaginative artist of his day: Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

Left an orphan in Genoa in 1657, Gaulli, or Baciccio as he was called, came to Rome when he was only eighteen years old, without money and as yet without reputation. Bernini, now almost sixty, the friend of popes and cardinals, dominated the artistic activity of Rome, drawing into his enormous *bottega* artists from all over Italy. Baciccio was never one of those artists who worked directly for Bernini as an assistant or a pupil; but the advancement of his career seems to date from the period, sometime in the 1660's, when he became Bernini's young protégé.² Through Bernini he gained an *entrée* to the princes of the Church and of the city who provided the lavish patronage of seventeenth century Rome. In gratitude Gaulli named Bernini godfather to his first-born son.³

Gaulli's first success was in portraiture. Here Bernini not only provided the necessary introductions,⁴ but seems to have taught the young Genoese artist how to achieve those qualities of spontaneous expression and momentary pose which were so prized by Roman patrons in the age of the high Baroque.⁵ The next step came when Gaulli began to receive commissions for *quadri storiati*, which would normally involve handling more than one figure in a single painting. While those who know

Baciccio's early *bozzetti* cannot doubt his technical brilliance, there is some evidence that, at this point, he ran into compositional problems, which, according to Ratti, were solved with Bernini's help: "Qualora poi venivagli occorrenza di dipingere quadri storiati, il Bernino stesso gliene formava i modelli. Così alleggerivagli la fatica, e co' suoi esemplari instruivalo. . . ."⁶

Ratti's statement, written some sixty years after Gaulli's death and largely from information provided by the artist's son, certainly needs corroboration. It is not without interest, however, as a precedent for the relationship between Bernini and Baciccio at the Gesù.

Until his death in 1680 Bernini seems to have helped the younger artist whenever he could. Baciccio's first work in fresco, the commission to decorate the pendentives of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, apparently came about after Bernini introduced him to Prince Pamphili, patron of the church.⁷ Furthermore, soon after, when Gaulli traveled north to study the frescoes of Correggio at Parma, Bernini sent him off with a letter of introduction to the Duke of Modena, whom he urged to give Gaulli commissions for portraits.⁸ Bernini's introduction to the Chigi Pope, Alexander VII, resulted in other important commissions,⁹ and the connection elsewhere can be easily inferred. In the Altieri Chapel of St. Francesco a Ripa, for example, Baciccio's altarpiece, held within a frame which Bernini designed,¹⁰ appears directly above the sculptor's statue of the Beata Lodovica Albertoni. Another important altarpiece still stands today in its marble frame within the church which Bernini built for the Jesuit novitiate, S. Andrea al Quirinale. But the clearest and best documented example of Bernini's assistance occurs in Baciccio's most famous project, the nine frescoes which he painted on the vaults of the Gesù.

In the main outlines of the story Gaulli's biographers agree. When Gian Paolo Oliva, General of the Jesuit order, held a competition for the commission to decorate the mother church, it was natural that he should turn for advice to his friend Bernini, and equally to be expected that Bernini would pick his protégé.¹¹ Perhaps Oliva still had some doubts, for in order to make sure that his friend got the commission, Bernini personally guaranteed that the project would be successful. As a first step in that direction, he lent the services of one of his most important assistants, Antonio Raggi, who executed much of the stucco sculpture. On August 21, 1671, Father Oliva signed the contract by which Gaulli

1. The basic hypothesis advanced in this note, but applied only to the fresco on the nave vault of the Gesù, was stated fully in my doctoral thesis, "The Religious Paintings of Giovanni Battista Gaulli," University of Michigan, 1954, pp. 127ff. and *passim*. All the early sources used in the present article are cited there.

2. "Mi basta per ora accenare, che de' suoi progressi in Pittura in aderenza ed in credito, fu, come egli stesso ingenuamente confessava, debitore in gran parte all'affetto, ed alla protezione di quel chiarissimo Professore [Bernini]." Raffaello Soprani and Carlo Giuseppe Ratti, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti genovesi*, Genoa, 1769, II, p. 76. (Henceforward referred to as Soprani and Ratti.)

3. Leone Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1730, I, p. 198. (Henceforward referred to as Pascoli.)

4. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

5. Soprani and Ratti, II, p. 77.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 76. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

8. The letter is published by F. Imparato, "Documenti sul pittore Baciccio," *Archivio storico dell'arte*, II, 1889, pp. 154-155.

9. Pascoli, I, pp. 199-200.

10. H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, I, p. 166.

11. Pascoli, I, p. 200; Soprani and Ratti, II, p. 78.

was commissioned to decorate all the major vaulting of the church.¹² Work began quickly, but the original designs, which had seemed satisfactory at the time when Baciccio submitted them, proved inadequate as the work got under way. As Pascoli reports, Bernini was soon called on to honor his guarantee: "... e nel lavorare conobbe, che secondo il concertato sarebbe riuscito assai misero, e da non poter ben guarnire i siti, come il P. generale supponeva, e come egli stesso aveva creduto. Discorsosi pertanto di ciò tra lui, il P. generale, ed il Bernini si conchiuse, che s'accrescesse, e che egli lavorasse pure allegramente, che sarebbe stata lor cura a proporzione del di più di ricompensarlo; ed ei da magnanimo senza alcun'ombra di dubbio, tutto affidato nella lor parola, secondo il bisogna l'accrebbe."¹³

In the following *avviso*, written immediately after the unveiling of the fresco in the dome of the Gesù, we find further evidence of Bernini's responsibility for the broader aspects of the design and corroboration of Ratti's assertions that Bernini on occasion made the "modelli" or sketches from which Gaulli worked: "Roma, 20 Aprile, 1675: Hanno li P. P. Gesuiti scoperto la cupola della loro [chiesa] del Giesù dipinta da nuova con disegno del Cavalier Bernino, e fattura d'un tale Baccici Fiorentino, da molti virtuosi non viene troppo lodata l'inventionione del primo, come anche il lavoro del secondo."¹⁴

These two sources provide us, I believe, with the key to the nature and the degree of Bernini's contribution. In essence it was the "invention." Since Gaulli's frescoes were too small and unimpressive to draw the eye of the observer up into the lofty dome and broad vault of the cavernous church, Bernini decided that the design should be enlarged. Now if by "enlargement," of which Pascoli speaks, no more is meant than the same design increased in scale, it would hardly be necessary to call on the assistance of Rome's most famous artist. A brief examination of the frescoes themselves proves that Bernini's contribution was a highly creative one.

Taken as a group, the most striking aspect of the decorative scheme is the manner in which certain of the paintings break dramatically out and over their architectural frame. In Gaulli's first fresco, the high Baroque *Vision of Glory* which fills the dome (Fig. 3), we note in the lower levels how small cherubs plunge through clouds in the spaces between the great oculus windows (Fig. 4). Here the plaster has been built up to an extraordinary thickness, so that it extends down irregularly, in some places completely covering the scroll volutes which cap the window frames, themselves no less than six inches deep (Fig. 5). Both clouds and cherubs sweep down across the architectural moldings (Fig. 4), giving impetus to the desired illusion of the

actual entrance of heaven into the upper regions of the church. Similarly, the figures on the pendentives, unconfined by the limits of their assigned space, project up and into the drum, and are carried out into space on an angle by the plaster, which rests on a concealed scaffold. Most dramatic and most famous of all is the fresco on the nave vault, the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* (Figs. 1 and 2). From the Jesuit monogram at the center of the composition there radiates a divine light which simultaneously draws up to heaven the blessed kneeling in prayer and casts down into hell the forces of evil. Essentially the technique follows that used in the dome, but here it is exploited with greater daring to permit the full realization of its expressive potential. Thick layers of stucco, built up over the heavy architectural frame and filling the deep coffers of the original sixteenth century vault, provide the necessary smooth surface from which the figures break far out over their enframement, thus seeming to populate the upper regions of the nave. Heavenly hosts float above us while the damned seem about to cascade down on our heads. In line with fundamental concepts of the Counter-Reformation and its Jesuit exponents, the artist makes an immediate appeal to our emotions by stressing the smallness of the distance which separates heaven and earth and the tangible reality of the celestial sphere. As a further aid to the illusion, certain areas of the gilded vault are overpainted with dark glaze to indicate shadows cast over the architecture by the masses of figures and banks of clouds which block off the central radiation of light. In contrast to the dome, sculpture plays a major role. Large stucco angels surround and seem to sustain the stucco frame. So successful is the blending of sculpture and painting that we feel no sense of shock as the foot of one such angel seems to kick down into hell the painted figure of Vanity with her peacock (Fig. 2, upper right).

Basically this whole technique, blending architecture, painting, and sculpture, reflects a conception in three-dimensional terms which we do not ordinarily expect in a painter. Its origin may be traced to certain large decorative schemes which Bernini conceived and executed totally under his own direction. Most striking of these is the *Angelic Concert Surrounding the Dove of the Holy Ghost*, painted by Guido Ubaldo Abbatini after Bernini's designs on the vaults of the Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria in Rome (Fig. 6). Here as at the Gesù, heavy layers of stucco carry clouds and painted figures across the architectural members of the vault, spilling into the panels and breaking over the projecting moldings. Note in particular how the painted figure of the angel with the violin crosses over the three-dimensional window frame. Completed in

12. The document, now in the Jesuit archives in Rome, has been published in full by Pietro Tacchi Venturi, "Le convenzione tra Gio. Battista Gaulli e il generale dei Gesuiti Gian Paolo Oliva per le pitture della cupola e della volta del Tempio Farnesiano," *Roma*, XIII, 1935, pp. 147-156.

13. Pascoli, I, p. 200.

14. Vatican Library, MS Barberini Lat. 6413, LXXIII. 16, fol. 109r. The reliability of the author of the *avviso* is somewhat weakened but by no means nullified by his error as to Gaulli's birthplace. When the *avviso* was written, Baciccio had been gone from Genoa for some eighteen years, while the fresco had been unveiled within the last few days.

1652, the Cornaro Chapel forms the precedent for the Gesù vault, finished a quarter century later.¹⁵

This technique and its effect on the total content of the frescoes constitute Bernini's contribution when he "enlarged" the design for the frescoes of the Gesù. Probably he did no more than provide a few rapid sketches. Certainly Gaulli must be credited not only with the execution but with the drawings and *bozzetti* which define the individual figures and clarify their compositional relationships. Without Bernini's "invention," however, the fresco of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* would hardly be noticed today.

For all his superb mastery of color and the undeniable charm of many of his works, Gaulli's paintings are without marked compositional originality or daring. His earliest altarpiece, the *Madonna with Saints Anthony and Roch* which he painted about 1665 for S. Rocco in Rome, shows a crowding and verticalization of space which is essentially *retardataire*. Even the canvases contemporary with the Gesù cycle, such as those at S. Francesco a Ripa or S. Andrea al Quirinale, although they are fully within the high Baroque tradition, express nothing really new. In works painted by Gaulli shortly after Bernini's death, such as the *Immaculate Conception* in Sta. Margherita in Trastevere, a certain sense of *détente* suggests Gaulli's movement towards the academic tradition.

Gaulli's ceiling paintings, rather than his altarpieces, form a more valid comparison. A glance at *St. Martha in Glory* (Fig. 7), the central tondo of the group of frescoes which Baciccio painted on the vault of Sta. Marta in Rome immediately before he began work on

the Gesù, shows us an essentially conservative designer. He not only holds himself strictly within the given frame, but is unconcerned with those illusionistic devices employed long before by such men as Pietro da Cortona and even Annibale Carracci. No contrast is more striking than that of the fresco of *Christ in Glory Receiving Franciscan Saints* which Gaulli painted in on the vault of SS. Apostoli in Rome, two years before his death (Fig. 8). Here, as at the Gesù, the commission called for a fresco containing a great number of figures for the nave vault of a very large church. Although the problem is almost the same as for the Gesù frescoes, it is hard to imagine a more different solution. Here the saints and angels make no attempt to invade the confines of the church or to reach up towards infinite heights. Instead, they seem to hover on a plateau roughly parallel to the vault, aligning themselves almost symmetrically on either side of the central axis. Far from violating the frame, the composition is molded by it. One can, of course, say with much truth that this, being a later work, reflects the artist's late style. But in a broader sense, it remains consistent with all the work which Gaulli did outside the Gesù. A study of his *bozzetti* reveals his effortless, at times brilliant, handling of paint, as well as his painstaking struggle to find interesting poses and arrangements for his figures.

In the broader aspects of design, it is fair to say that Baciccio lacked creative originality. This Bernini supplied.

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

15. Only with the publication of Rudolf Wittkower's brilliant work on Bernini's sculpture (*Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, New York, 1955), with its marvelous photographs of the Cornaro Chapel, did I become aware of the significance of Abbatini's frescoes in relation to Baciccio's work at the Gesù. I am

further indebted to Professor Wittkower for pointing out to me the absolute dependence of Abbatini on Bernini's designs.

No less am I in debt to Professor S. Lane Faison, who read this note before publication and made many extremely helpful suggestions.



BOOK REVIEWS

DONALD N. WILBER, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Il Khānīd Period*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1955. Pp. 208; 60 figs.; 216 pls. \$20.00.*

L'ouvrage est formé d'une étude d'ensemble (pp. 3-94), et d'un catalogue descriptif de monuments (pp. 97-191).

L'étude se subdivise en deux parties: une esquisse historique de l'Iran à l'époque mongole (Part I: Iran under the Mongol Il Khāns); et un essai de synthèse de l'architecture de ce temps (Part II: The style of the architectural monuments).

L'esquisse historique en cinq chapitres (pp. 3-27) n'est pas originale, et ne prétend pas l'être. C'est un tableau des événements depuis l'intervention de Gengis-Khān (1220-1221, ruine du Khorāsān) jusqu'à celle du Tamerlan (1385, incursion dans l'Azerbaïdjan). Concis, vivant, spirituel par instant, cet exposé est éminemment lisible. Il retrace la mainmise mongole sur l'Iran; la stabilisation, sous Hūlāgū et sous ses successeurs; l'"âge d'or" sous Ghāzān Khān; et la décadence. L'étonnante situation de ce pays musulman soumis à des maîtres qui n'ont point encore fixé leur foi est bien mise en lumière: les princes inclinent tantôt vers le christianisme nestorien, tantôt vers l'Islam, ne renient pas leurs attaches bouddhiques (pp. 15 et 16), prennent des ministres juifs dont l'un (pp. 13-14), annonçant trois siècles à l'avance la politique d'Akbar dans l'Inde, conseille à son maître Arghūn de créer une nouvelle religion. Ainsi est tenue en suspens la destinée religieuse de l'Iran durant plus de soixante-dix ans, non sans conséquences pour l'architecture. Et lorsque l'accession de Ghāzān Khān, en 1296, aura définitivement fait pencher la balance en faveur de l'Islam, son successeur hésitera encore entre le sunnisme chiisme (p. 24). Ces pages claires et alertes offrent d'une époque fort importante de l'Iran un résumé auquel je ne connais point d'équivalent, et j'en recommanderais la lecture à bien d'autres qu'aux seuls architectes-archéologues: à tous ceux qu'intéresse l'histoire. Je me permettrai seulement de regretter que l'auteur se soit, en général, dispensé de nous renseigner sur l'origine de ses informations. Il est vrai que les bibliographies du catalogue, complétées par une bibliographie générale en fin de volume (pp. 192-200) permettent souvent au lecteur informé de retrouver cette origine. Mais on lui eût considérablement facilité la tâche en lui donnant quelques références en notes, au bas des pages. Mentionner (p. 14) une inscription relative à une construction d'Arghūn "according to Curzon," sans plus, est à peine suffisant. Et lorsqu'on nous transcrit (entre guillemets) le récit de la démolition et de la reconstruction d'une église (p. 12); lorsqu'on nous apprend d'une autre église (p. 12) qu'elle était si proche du palais royal que les rideaux des deux édifices

s'entremêlaient; lorsqu'on reproduit (entre guillemets) la description du monastère de St Jean-Baptiste à Marāgha (p. 19), pourquoi avoir omis l'indication de source qu'il eût été si utile et si naturel de nous donner?

La deuxième partie (pp. 31-94) offre successivement: des considérations sur les caractéristiques essentielles (major features) de l'architecture (chap. 6); un essai de classement des édifices (chap. 7); des vues sur la relation des édifices à leur environnement (chap. 8); une étude des procédés et matériaux de construction (chap. 9); l'examen de diverses particularités de la construction: fondations, échafaudages (d'après les trous qu'ils ont laissés), escaliers, voûtes, voûtes en coupes (chap. 10: Features of Construction),—et de certaines formes: arcs, trompes et stalactites, mihrābs (chap. 11: Features of Design); une étude des procédés et matériaux du décor (chap. 12); enfin, un essai de définition de deux écoles régionales, l'une de l'Azerbaïdjan, l'autre de Yazd (chap. 13).

De l'ensemble d'observations variées accumulé dans ces huit chapitres, un fait capital se dégage clairement: l'architecture de l'époque mongole n'est que la suite et le développement de celle de l'époque seldjoukide. Par rapport à l'architecture seldjoukide et à ses constructions relativement massives, la tendance nouvelle est à une différenciation plus marquée entre les parties portantes et les parois, que l'on amincit et où l'on ouvre des baies plus larges; et à un allègement général de la construction, par accentuation des verticales, et élancement des proportions (p. 76). Ce développement rappelle à certains égards, celui qui, en Occident, et à peu près vers le même temps, mène de l'architecture romane à l'architecture gothique. Mais l'auteur, qui suggère cette comparaison, ne l'en écarte pas moins, pour l'essentiel: on ne constate pas, dit-il (p. 33), entre l'époque seldjoukide et l'époque mongole cette "révolution de la conception et des formes" qui a fait surgir le gothique du roman. Je croirais cette opinion tout à fait juste, et j'ajouterais seulement qu'on s'explique mieux qu'il n'y ait pas alors révolution, si l'on se souvient que la véritable révolution avait déjà eu lieu: celle qui, à l'architecture composite et cosmopolite des trois premiers siècles de l'Islam, substitue dès le dixième siècle, au Khorāsān, une architecture nouvelle caractérisée par l'usage de la brique apparente. C'est l'architecture issue de cette révolution-là, originaire des pays de l'Oxus, comme l'avait très bien vu Herzfeld dès 1921¹, étendue ensuite par les Seldjoukides jusqu'à Bagdad et en Anatolie, par les Ghaznévides et les Ghorides jusqu'à Delhi, c'est cette architecture qui "survit dans toutes les oeuvres mongoles" (Herzfeld). De sorte que la relation entre les architectures seldjoukide et mongole de l'Iran me paraîtrait plutôt à comparer à celle qui relie l'une à l'autre deux époques successives du gothique. Dans tous les domaines il y a évolution, lente et graduelle; il n'y a point rupture.

* (This review was commissioned prior to a decision of the Editorial Board to translate into English any contribution

submitted in a foreign language. ED.)

1. *Der Islam*, XI, 1921, p. 173.

En ce qui concerne les voûtes "no new technical devices appeared, no fresh forms were evolved" (p. 56), et comme un décor surimposé, en plâtre, (p. 60) tend de plus en plus à masquer la construction et à se substituer au décor formé par la brique d'appareil, l'intérêt pour le progrès architectural proprement dit décroît. Les coupoles se répartissent en trois catégories (p. 61): chacun de ces trois types était déjà en usage avant l'époque mongole. Les innovations, qui ne manquent pas, sont de détail. Elles portent par exemple sur la forme des arcs (p. 68); sur les stalactites, communes dès l'époque seldjoukide, mais de formes plus compliquées et d'usage varié (p. 72); sur le décor des mihrābs (p. 75) où l'on observe l'application de techniques nouvelles (faïence lustrée, mosaïques de faïence), en même temps que la survie, sans aucun changement, de techniques anciennes (le plâtre sculpté). Bref la nouveauté n'affecte guère que l'ornement, et, si grande que soit cette architecture, on peut dire sans crainte, je pense, qu'elle a son apogée derrière elle.

Vient enfin le catalogue. C'est, nous indique l'auteur (p. ix), la partie la plus solide du travail: alors que ce qui précède est exposé à vieillir (may be superseded), la description des monuments devrait présenter une valeur durable (should have a lasting validity). Trois pages d'introduction (pp. 97-99) définissent la matière étudiée (architectural monuments, architectural elements and inscriptions), le cadre chronologique et géographique, et renseignent le lecteur sur les méthodes de travail de l'auteur et sur les objectifs qu'il s'est proposés.

Dirai-je que ni le choix de la matière, ni celui des limites chronologiques, ni celui des limites géographiques ne me paraissent entièrement satisfaisants?

Examinons le début du catalogue. Les mosquées de Nigār (No. 1, de 1218?) et de Zuzan (No. 2, de 1219) sont antérieures à la pénétration des Mongols en Iran, et me paraissent donc à éliminer. L'imāmzāda Shāh Chirāgh de Shirāz (No. 4) et la Coupole Verte de Kirmān (No. 6) datés du treizième siècle par des témoignages du dix-neuvième siècle, mais où l'auteur n'a pas trouvé trace de constructions du treizième siècle, auraient pu être omis également. J'eusse éliminé encore le masjid-i-sang de Dārāb (No. 8), monument rupestre (préislamique?), où l'époque mongole n'est représentée que par "des traces de trois inscriptions"; et les ruines de Shāhī (No. 10), une île du Lac d'Urmīya, où l'on a cherché le Trésor et la tombe de Hūlāgū, mais en vain, comme l'auteur nous en prévient honnêtement (no ruins were located on the island of Shāhī which could be identified with the treasury and tomb of Hūlāgū, p. 109). Restent le numéro 3 (un mihrāb de Kashan daté de 1226), le numéro 5 (deux inscriptions datant, respectivement de 1231 et de 1270, deux coupoles d'un imāmzāda de Shūshtar), enfin le numéro 9 (l'observatoire de Hūlāgū à Marāgha, de

1258). C'est cet édifice, sûrement fort important (bien qu'il n'en reste à peu près rien), qui constitue en fait le premier monument d'architecture authentiquement ilkhānide dont on ait connaissance. En d'autres termes, pendant les trente-huit premières années de la domination mongole en Iran, la construction paraît avoir été quasi complètement arrêtée, et l'auteur s'en est aperçu, puisqu'il note que l'observatoire atteste le recommencement de l'architecture (the revival of building activity begun under Hūlāgū). Mais on ne peut pas dire que le catalogue tel qu'il nous est présenté mette ce grand fait en évidence. On voit l'inconvénient des dates arbitraires, car 1220 est, en la matière, une date arbitraire; et l'inconvénient de placer sur une même liste des documents aussi différents que des mosquées, des tombeaux et des observatoires (architectural monuments), des mihrābs et des carreaux de faïence (architectural elements), pour ne point parler des inscriptions (cf. les numéros 8 et 31).

Enfin le cadre géographique adopté n'est pas exempt lui-même de quelque arbitraire, et nous en sommes loyalement prévenus (p. 97). Ce cadre est à peu près celui de l'Iran moderne, car c'est à l'intérieur des frontières de l'Iran que s'est fait à peu près tout le travail sur le terrain (field work). On comprendrait cette raison si l'auteur se bornait à nous présenter des monuments visités par lui. Mais ce n'est pas le cas: le catalogue est un inventaire, où sont inclus un grand nombre de monuments que l'auteur n'a pas vus. Dans ces conditions, on pouvait tenir compte de monuments extérieurs à l'Iran, et cela a été fait, exceptionnellement. Par exemple, un minaret de Kūfa (No. 57) est mentionné d'après Herzfeld, qui l'avait identifié et en avait donné des photographies (sans description). Mais les monuments de Baghdad,² de Wāsit³ sont omis. On ne comprend pas bien pourquoi.

Tel qu'il est, cependant, l'ouvrage est de grand mérite, par la documentation fraîche qu'il apporte abondamment.

Parmi les monuments à la connaissance desquels l'auteur fournit d'importantes contributions ou que, parfois même il nous révèle, je citerai les suivants:

Les tombes de Qumm. Une très utile étude d'ensemble nous en est donnée (pp. 114-115). Belle et importante illustration; notamment les pl. 50, 51, 200, 208, 209. De la plus ancienne des tombes (fig. 10) un plan est publié pour la première fois.

Le Mil-i-Rādkān (No. 19). Les planches complètent celles de Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, sans cependant les remplacer. Une coupe (fig. 11) est donnée pour la première fois.

La tour funéraire de 'Ala ad-dīn, à Varāmīn (No. 21). Description, avec plan, coupe et élévation (fig. 12), donnés pour la première fois.

Le tombeau de Pīr-i-Bakrān, à Linjān, près d'Isfahan (No. 26). Discussion, avec plan (fig. 20) dérivé

2. La madrasa al-Mirdjāniyyah, le Khān Ortmah, tous deux du troisième quart du XIV^e siècle, v. E. Herzfeld, dans Sarre et Herzfeld, *Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat u. Tigrisgebiet* II, pp. 181, 187.

3. Fuad Safar, *Wāsit, the Sixth season's excavations*, Le Caire, 1945. Pour "Al-Manāra" (p. 9) l'on peut hésiter. Mais la mosquée IV est certainement ilkhānide (p. 35).

de celui de Godard, mais modifié. L'auteur discerne (p. 123) cinq époques de construction: I, la coupole; II, l'iwān; III, l'écran de fermeture de la chambre funéraire, le mur de clôture de l'iwān, la galerie d'entrée; IV et V, additions tardives. Son plan, qui distingue l'une de l'autre les époques I et II est préférable, sur ce point, au précédent qui ne les distinguait pas (il n'y a là, du reste, qu'un détail d'expression, car M. Godard avait bien vu que la coupole est antérieure à l'iwān, *Athār-e Īrān*, 1937, p. 30). En revanche, on ne sait trop pourquoi l'auteur considère le mur de clôture et la galerie d'entrée comme d'une seule venue. M. Godard les attribuait à deux époques différentes, et l'existence d'une entrée contemporaine du mur de clôture (le "vestibule"), l'absence de liaison entre la maçonnerie de ce vestibule et celle de la galerie, clairement visible sur sa photographie, (*ibid.*, p. 34, fig. 10), conféraient une certaine vraisemblance à son opinion. Sans doute l'auteur a-t-il ses raisons pour adopter une interprétation différente. Mais on eût souhaité qu'il nous les donnât.

Le tombeau de Ziāret (No. 35) au Khorāsān. C'est une découverte. Photographies, plan, coupe.

L'imāmzāda 'Abd Allāh à Demāvand (No. 36). Plan publié pour la première fois.

La grande mosquée de Natanz, avec monuments adjacents (No. 39). L'auteur se sépare de Godard, qui considérait la mosquée (constituée d'un octogone voûté en coupole, et d'une cour à quatre iwāns) comme d'une seule venue, et le mausolée adjacent comme tardif. Adoptant l'opinion de Schroeder, il tient la cour pour une addition à un octogone préexistant; se fondant sur une découverte personnelle, celle d'un décor ancien du mausolée, visible dans les lacunes du décor de plâtre plus récent, il tient ce monument pour antérieur à la mosquée. Au lecteur qui n'a pas visité Natanz, il n'est guère possible de prendre parti, et il se peut bien que l'interprétation de l'auteur soit la bonne. Mais ici encore on regrettera qu'il ne l'ai pas documentée plus solidement, et notamment qu'il n'ait pas donné d'illustration permettant la comparaison des deux types de décor du mausolée.

La chambre funéraire de Ghiyath ad-dīn Muhammad, adjacente à la grande mosquée de Hérat (No. 43). Description de ce monument resté presque inconnu. Photographies, et plan (donné pour la première fois).

L'imāmzāda de Rabi'a Khātūn à Ashtarjān (No. 46), près d'Ispahan. Description, et plan (pour la première fois).

Grande mosquée d'Ashtarjān (No. 49). Description, belle et abondante illustration, et plan (pour la première fois) de ce monument important et bien conservé.

Grande mosquée d'Ali Shah (dite "Arg") à Tabriz (No. 51). Discussion, et essai de restitution (fig. 30), principalement d'après les textes, de ce monument dont l'élément le plus notable (et le seul qui subsiste en partie) était son iwān géant.

Grande mosquée de Gaz (No. 54), près d'Ispahan.

Description avec plan (publié pour la première fois). Dans l'ensemble, l'édifice est tardif. Mais il conserve un iwān, considéré par Godard comme seldjoukide, tenu par l'auteur pour ilkhānide, et distingué par lui de restes architecturaux plus anciens (un minaret, des piliers) qui seraient seuls d'époque seldjoukide.

Iwān de Gārlādān (No. 56), près d'Ispahan. Description avec plan et coupe (figs. 32, 33) donnés pour la première fois.

Mosquée de Farūmad (No. 61) au Khorasan. Se fondant sur des comparaisons de style, l'auteur propose une date plus précise et un peu plus basse (vers 1320) que la date vague (treizième siècle) prudemment proposée par Godard.

Imāmzāda Ja'far (No. 68), à Ispahan. Description, belle planche (144). Le plan et la coupe (figs. 35, 38) sont donnés pour la première fois.

Trois mosquées (Dashti, No. 69; Kāj, No. 70; Eziran, No. 71) de la région d'Ispahan, étroitement apparentées, probablement contemporaines (vers 1325 ?), la première et la troisième inconnues. Description, intéressante discussion, avec plans (inédits pour 69 et 71; corrigé pour 70), et belles photographies (pls. 145-155): ces monuments sont une révélation.

Portail (Do Minār Dardasht) et chambre funéraire (No. 75), à Ispahan. Description, photographies, plan (fig. 43) publié pour la première fois.

Tombe de Chelebi Oghlu, et monument annexe (No. 80) à Sultāniya. Description, photographies. Plan et coupe (figs. 48 et 49), pour la première fois.

Cet aperçu ne rend que faiblement justice à la richesse de l'ouvrage. Et l'ouvrage lui-même n'offre qu'un reflet partiel du travail effectué sur le terrain. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, Shīrāz n'est représentée au catalogue que par deux monuments (No. 4 déjà mentionné; et 98), du reste secondaires. Mais, lisons-nous: "the present author has carefully examined some one hundred and thirty mosques, madrasas, shrines, and tombs in Shīrāz and feels certain that no structure belonging to these years could have been overlooked" (p. 15). Voilà qui donne une idée de l'effort accompli. C'est l'étendue de cette enquête qui explique qu'elle ait pu être si fructueuse en nouveautés de toutes espèces.

Les erreurs matérielles sont peu nombreuses. Signalons, pour la mosquée de Natanz, que la date de l'inscription de l'iwān Nord n'est ni 719H comme l'indique le plan, ni 707 comme l'indique un passage du texte (p. 133), mais 709; et, pour le Rab'-i-Rashīdi de Tabriz que les planches 43 et 44 sont à intervertir et à assembler, et forment alors un panorama.

DANIEL SCHLUMBERGER
Université de Strasbourg

MICHÈLE BEAULIEU and JEANNE BAYLÉ, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1956. Pp. 220; 85 figs. in text, 24 pls. 1500 francs.

Books on the history of costume are plentiful, but with very few exceptions they have proved to be of little real value to the art historian. This is the first to present in a systematic, comprehensive, and scholarly way an illustrated handbook of dress and costume accessories specifically designed to smooth the way for the student of Netherlandish art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Baylé, the first a costume expert at the Louvre and the second an archivist, carefully define the limits of their study, namely the ever-enlarging but never firmly consolidated territory controlled by the four Dukes of Burgundy between 1364 and 1477. It is a comprehensive work which excludes only liturgical vestments, which are not specifically Burgundian, and theatrical costume, which they rightly say deserves a special study. Their method is sound: confrontation of textual references, gleaned primarily from the ducal accounts, with pictorial evidence. Not the least service performed, and of real value to the student of the art of this period, is the bibliographical citation of pertinent archival texts, both printed and still in manuscript only, and of the printed accounts of contemporary Burgundian chroniclers. This is followed by a selected list of dated or datable works of art in the media of manuscript illuminations, paintings, sculpture (principally tomb monuments), and seals. A handy historical map, genealogical table, and short chapters on the variety and nature of materials used and their places of manufacture, introduce the main body of the volume. In separate chapters is treated each element of dress for males and females, costume accessories (from shoes to crowns), popular garb (about which the ducal accounts say little but which in any event underwent almost no change), special costumes (from those of children through university professors and fools to prostitutes), and finally the technical and difficult field of military garb. Nearly every item of clothing or accouterment that is described is accompanied by one or more mediocre but adequate line-drawings excerpted from a pictorial source and supported in footnotes by the quotation of one or more dated references to such an item in the documents. The moderate price of the book has been made possible, I imagine, by the fact that only twenty-four photographic reproductions of sculpture, paintings, and manuscript illuminations are included, at the end of the volume. They fulfill a function, partly aesthetic but also technical, which a line-drawing never can; and I am sorry that many more photographs were not used, particularly of manuscript miniatures. The authors' fine index of articles of dress cites in abundance references to manuscript illuminations which have never, alas, been reproduced and hence are not available to most students.

The authors caution the reader, in their prefatory and concluding remarks, that this is strictly a regional study of costume at a given time in Western culture and that it is still too early, in the "relatively new science" of the history of dress, to describe with finality

the specifically Burgundian mode. The art historian of the Renaissance in Northern Europe will be less concerned with this problem than with the expressed hope of the authors that this book may prove of value in the matter of dating paintings and sculpture with precision. The number of early Netherlandish works of art that have been approximately dated by scholars on the primary evidence of costume style—when it can reasonably be assumed that the dress is in the local and contemporary mode (which one may assume to be usually true of a portrait)—is vast indeed, as any student knows who has consulted the volumes of M. J. Friedländer, or the catalogue of Martin Davies of the paintings of this period in the National Gallery in London. For the very reason that this criterion of dating is such a valuable one, we must raise the only fundamental objection that we have to this study: the list of dated monuments is far too generous, particularly in the case of manuscript illuminations. The student must therefore be very careful in accepting the dates given in bold-face type in the chronological lists of "dated" works of art at the beginning of the book. In the list of paintings, for example, we know as facts neither that Dirk Bouts' *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* triptych was painted in 1448, nor that Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Altar* was painted in 1475-76. (We may be sure that van der Goes did *not* paint the *Portrait of Anthony of Burgundy* in Chantilly, and we have no solid grounds for deducing that its date must be 1460.) As a typical mistake in the even more difficult problem of manuscript illuminations I can cite the authors' dating of the pictures, which they mention frequently, in the *Histoire de Helayne* (Brussels, ms 9967). The authors tell us that in 1448 Wauquelin translated into prose for Philip the Good this novel of the thirteenth century—which is correct—and that it was illuminated two years later by Loyset Liédet. As a matter of fact it is not documented when the illustrations were made, and the Brussels manuscript is a copy surely dating after 1460, as I have been informed by L. M. J. Delaissé. The authors are, however, to be criticized on this score only for not having allowed more latitude, which they might easily have done, in the dating and attribution of works of art for which a final precision has not been made.

The problem of terminology in costume description will remain a real one for anyone whose tongue is other than French. *Houppelande* and *henin*, for example, can and have been taken over with no difficulty into other languages; but what do we do in English, for instance, with the distinction between *heaume*, *bavière*, *bassinet*, *salade* (seven varieties are illustrated), and *chapeau de fer*—all being types of helmets (i.e. *casques*)? The answer to this question is naturally enough of no concern to the authors of this valuable book, which is a substantial and welcome contribution to our knowledge of the period.

ROBERT A. KOCH
Princeton University

KORNEEL GOOSSENS, *David Vinckboons*, Antwerp, Ars Patriae, 1954. Pp. 160; 75 figs.; 1 color pl.

This book is particularly welcome because few studies have been made of the pathfinders of Dutch realism who worked during the first decades of the seventeenth century. There are, to be sure, significant exceptions. J. G. van Gelder's *Jan van de Velde* (1933) is a thorough analysis of one of the founders of the new national style. The students—there have not been many—who examined the development of portrait, landscape, genre and still-life painting as independent genres have presented material on late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Netherlandish painting. Riegl's *Das holländische Gruppenporträt* (1902) does not admit an interruption from Geertgen to Rembrandt. Dvorak's fragmentary essay, "Ein Stilleben des Bueckelaer oder Betrachtungen über der neuzeitigen Kabinettmalerei," published posthumously in 1923, called attention to problems of late sixteenth century painting which have not yet been resolved. Aspects of the mannerism of Dutch artists who responded to their own special brand of High Renaissance ideals have been studied by Hans Kauffmann, Friedrich Antal, Wolfgang Stechow, and Fritz Baumgart; and monographs have been written on Goltzius, Van Mander, De Gheyn and Abraham Bloemaert. But the fact remains that the shift from mannerism to realism in Dutch painting remains unclear. Perhaps this is so because no giant dominates the transition. A host of artists effect the break, and until their *oeuvre* is studied in detail the Golden Age of Dutch painting will seem to be, as Fromentin suggested, one of the stipulations of the twelve-year truce Holland signed with Spain in 1609. Work remains to be done upon the Flemish immigrants Gillis van Coninxloo and Vinckboons' contemporary Roelandt Savery. The accomplishment of Buytewech, Esaias van der Velde, Claes Jansz Visscher, and Molyn has hardly been measured. Even the most important figures are not yet clear: Hercules Seghers' development is still debated; Frans Hals' formative years remain a mystery.

Goossens' study of Vinckboons is divided into four sections: a biography; a discussion of his landscape paintings; an analysis of the genre pictures; and a chronological catalogue of the paintings he accepts as authentic, and a list of those he rejects.

His biography of the artist, who was one of the most popular in Amsterdam during his lifetime, is the first adequate one published. With good reason Goossens italicizes the date Vinckboons was baptized in Mechelen: August 13, 1576. Although this date was published as early as 1907 by H. Coninckx,¹ the erroneous birth year of 1578 cited by Van Mander is still frequently quoted. In 1579 the Vinckboons family

moved to Antwerp and in 1586 immigrated to Holland. By 1591 David's father Philip had settled in Amsterdam with his family. Upon the basis of a reference to a "Phlips van Mechele schilder met zijn familie" in a safe-conduct pass issued in 1586 by the Earl of Leicester to 136 Protestant families, which enabled them to travel from Antwerp to Middelburg, Goossens is able to demonstrate what has been frequently asserted: David's father immigrated to Holland for religious reasons. Goossens also establishes, with reasonable certainty, the year of Vinckboons' death. Most handbooks and lexica cite 1629, but there is no evidence for this date. A few published documents support the contention that he lived after 1629. The most important one proves that he was dead by January 12, 1633; upon that date Vinckboons' widow appeared in the Orphan's Court in Amsterdam with her eight minor children. Goossens is the first to interpret the significance of this reference. He calls attention to an ordinance of the city of Amsterdam which states that a widow or widower must appear before the Orphan's Court with his or her bereaved minor children within five weeks after the death of a spouse. His conclusion is that Vinckboons died late in the year 1632.

The bulk of Goossens' book is divided between a discussion of Vinckboons' landscapes and genre scenes. He emphasizes the difficulty of maintaining a separation between the two categories and insists that, in the final analysis, Vinckboons was a landscape painter and genre painter at the same time, but was the latter above all. This interpretation is, I think, correct. Vinckboons did not paint landscape *pur*. The great expanses of his mountainous landscapes serve as the backdrop for mass spectacles; his thick woods are settings for the trivial happenings of everyday life.

Goossens discusses the origins of Vinckboons' landscape style and insists that Plietzsch and others exaggerate the influence of Gillis van Coninxloo upon Vinckboons. He emphasizes the difference in content in their work. From the time Van Coninxloo settled in Amsterdam in 1595 until his death in 1606 he used nature as his theme; Vinckboons, *au fond* a genre painter, shows what happens to man in nature. He also maintains that Vinckboons' decorative style of foliage painting was not derived from Van Coninxloo. "In this area there can be no question of the influence of one man upon another" (p. 20); both artists, he asserts, derived their way of painting foliage from sixteenth century Flemish water-color tapestry painters. Since the end of the fifteenth century, Goossens writes, Mechelen was an important tapestry manufacturing center. When Charles V issued an ordinance in 1544 which prohibited Mechelen weavers from manufacturing tapestries, the town developed a new specialty. Soon there were over 150 workshops in Mechelen making water-color or

1. Goossens cites the 1908 edition of H. Coninckx, *David Vinckboons, peintre, et son oeuvre et la famille de ce nom*; he does not mention that this rare work is a reprint of an article which appeared in *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 5^e série, IX, 1907, pp. 405-452. In some notes Goossens' bibliographical data is inaccurate and incomplete; his

practice of referring the reader to a specific point in another work without citing a page reference brings to mind the great footnote in James Thurber and E. B. White, *Is Sex Necessary? or Why You Feel the Way You Do*, New York and London, 1929, p. 89 n. 1; "See Tithridge's 'Poetry,' but don't read it."

tempera tapestries intended as cheap substitutes for expensive woven ones. Goossens maintains that the decorative character of the landscapes painted by the Mechelen artists Hans Bol, Peter Stevens, Lodewyk Toeput, Lucas van Valckenborch and Vinckboons is a result of their early contact with the studios where painted tapestries were made, and their work kept this quality whether they worked in Treviso, as Toeput did, or in Amsterdam. To be sure, Vinckboons left Mechelen when he was three years old, but according to Van Mander his only teacher was his father Philip "een redelijck goet Schilder in Water-verwe" and "David heeft eerstlijck aenghevanghen van Water-verwe te wercken."

Goossens' reasonable argument for the importance of Mechelen painted tapestries is difficult to demonstrate conclusively because not a single one is extant. Indeed, Goossens informs us, not even a woven tapestry bearing a Mechelen mark is known. Reference to the large *Icarus and Dedalus* (fig. 1), attributed to Hans Bol, in the National Gallery in Stockholm, to give us some idea of what a big decorative Mechelen school painting looked like, is not too reliable, for the ascription of a picture that measures 154 cm by 173 cm to a painter who is only known by miniature works is not a very firm one.

Goossens calls attention to another source for Vinckboons' landscape style in an engraving of the *Temptation of Christ* (fig. 6), which he writes was designed by Matthijs Cock and engraved by his brother Hieronymus. He does not inform the reader that some specialists have attributed both the design and the execution of the print to Hieronymus Cock (it is signed "H. Cock, fecit"), but the attribution of the engraving is not important for the point Goossens makes. The print shows Christ and the Devil as small figures on the edge of a great forest; a view of the sea and a distant forest can be seen in the background. The entire landscape is seen from a single point of view. Focused perspective has been used to create the illusion of depth. Instead of arranging his composition in layers, like stage wings parallel to the picture plane, as earlier artists did, the designer of this print massed the forest into a block set at roughly a forty-five degree angle to the picture plane. The trees on the edge of the "block" decrease in size—much the way telephone poles do in an elementary lesson in vanishing-point perspective—as they go back toward the horizon along the edge of a path on the left and a river on the right side of the picture. The wall of trees in Vinckboons' *Figures on the Edge of a Wood* (fig. 7), which Goossens dates around 1601, in the Gräflische Schönbornsche Gemäldegalerie, Schloss Pommersfelden, is unified in a way which recalls the 1558 print. This type of composition is not found in Van Coninxloo's oeuvre.

Goossens sees Vinckboons' development as a land-

scape painter from his early panoramic views to his late studies of heroic oak trees, which prefigure the accomplishment of the landscape painters who work around the middle of the century, as independent of both indigenous Dutch influences and foreign ones. To be sure Goossens recognizes that around 1600 Goltzius, Jacques de Gheyn, and Bloemaert were already working after nature in the North Netherlands, but he believes that there was a hiatus in the development of realism in Dutch landscape painting soon after 1608 when Elsheimer's Italianate style was brought to Holland and popularized by the prints made by Goudt, Hollar, and others. He maintains that the artists born between 1585 and 1595 (he cites Buytewech, Avercamp, Hercules Seghers, Esaias van de Velde, and Molyn) soon fell into a new eclecticism and mannerism based upon the works of Elsheimer, as well as Bloemaert, Van Coninxloo, and Vinckboons. Only around 1620 were Esaias van de Velde, Hercules Seghers, and Buytewech, the most talented members of this group, able to work out their own style. "In this confusion," Goossens continues, "Vinckboons remained completely himself" (p. 58). Vinckboons' portraits of trees in the *Preaching of St. John* (fig. 27), dated 1621, in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich and above all in the *Landscape with an Old Oak* (fig. 28), in the same gallery, are, he writes, more advanced than anything done by Esaias van de Velde, Seghers, or Buytewech, and, Goossens concludes, even Jan van Goyen and Solomon van Ruysdael are not able to capture the poetic effect of a tree seen silhouetted against the sky until about 1640.

The third section of the monograph traces Vinckboons' genre pictures from his views of large crowds strolling through gardens and his Bruegel-like kermis scenes to those he made during the last years of his life, which show a close view of a single couple in a landscape. The satiric and moralizing character of the works made around the first decade of the century is emphasized. During these years Vinckboons sometimes used traditional allegorical subjects such as *The Struggle of Men and Animals Against Death and Father Time* or *Death Surprising Lovers in a Landscape*. For a few years before and after the Twelve Year Truce was signed in 1609, Vinckboons made pictures satirizing the Spanish invaders, and at this time he also made his touching representation of beggars and of blind hurdy-gurdy men. Gustav Glück (*Das Grosse Bruegel-Werk*, Vienna, 1951, pp. 116ff.) stated that the motif of the blind hurdy-gurdy man led by a dog through a village street surrounded by children was invented by Pieter Bruegel the Younger, and he lists seven versions of this subject that he attributes to him or to his workshop. Goossens argues that Vinckboons was the originator of this theme, and points out that none of the pictures that Glück cites is signed.² He also notes that

2. A. J. J. Delen, *Beschrijvende Catalogue, I, Oude Meesters, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 1948, pp. 69-70, states that one of the versions listed by Glück, Berlin, Auction Wilh. Lowenfeld, Lepke, Feb. 1906, no. 74, is by Pieter Bruegel III. Delen, who claims that Pieter

III always spelled his name Breughel (not Bruegel or Brueghel) does not say whether the *Hurdy-Gurdy Man* he attributed to Bruegel III is signed. However, D. Bax, *Hollandse en Vlaamse Schilderkunst in Zuid-Afrika*, Amsterdam, 1952, p. 41, writes that he read the signature on a reproduction

there is a reference in a 1614 inventory to "enen Lierman, gedaen na David Vinckboons"; the earliest reference to a hurdy-gurdy man by Pieter Bruegel the Younger is found in an inventory of 1671. Neither Goossens nor Glück mentions Anthony Blunt's study of the iconography of the blind hurdy-gurdy man (in "The *Joueur de Vielle* of Georges de la Tour," *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVI, 1945, pp. 108ff.). Blunt shows that the theme is closely associated with literature, painting, and engraving in France and the Low Countries from the fifteenth century onwards. Bosch made drawings of beggars playing hurdy-gurdies. Pieter Bruegel the Elder showed a blind beggar playing a hurdy-gurdy in his *Hoboken Kermis*, and the blind beggar who falls into a ditch on the extreme right of the *Parable of the Blind* in the Museo Nazionale in Naples carries this instrument. Is it possible that the paintings made by Vinckboons and Pieter Bruegel the Younger of the blind hurdy-gurdy man followed by children are based upon a lost composition by Bruegel the Elder?⁸

Vinckboons specialized in painting outdoor "merry company" scenes. (The term "merry company" is admittedly vague; it is used here for the equally loose Dutch label "*gezelschapje*" or the German *Gesellschaftsbild*.) *Peasant Sorrow* (fig. 43), in the Rijksmuseum, is the only extant painting by Vinckboons that shows a scene in an interior. *Merry Company in a Park* (fig. 52), dated 1610, in the Gemäldegalerie der Akademie für Bildende Künste in Vienna, is Vinckboons' earliest dated "merry company" picture. Goossens shows that this type of painting was derived from Vinckboons' early views of figures in a park and he maintains with Glück (*Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*, "Rubens' Liebesgarten," Vienna, 1933, pp. 82ff.) that ultimately its origin can be traced to the fifteenth century prints and tapestries showing love-garden scenes.

Goossens rightly underscores once again the relation of Esaias van de Velde's outdoor "merry company" pictures (Mauritshuis, The Hague, dated 1614; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, dated 1615) to Vinckboons, and he suggests that perhaps Van de Velde studied with Vinckboons after his first teacher, Gillis van Coninxloo, died. An analysis of the connection of Vinckboons' outdoor "merry company" scenes to those made by Buytewech and Dirk Hals, two other specialists of this genre, is not attempted. Goossens does, however, emphasize the debt of Frans Hals' *Banquet in a Park* (fig. 48), formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin, to Vinckboons. Goossens fails to point out that the painting is no longer in Berlin; if it was not

looted, it was destroyed in 1945 at the Flakturm Friedrichshain in Berlin. This picture, once attributed to Buytewech and now generally accepted as Hals' earliest extant work, Goossens notes, is based upon an engraving Claes Jansz Visscher made in 1608 after Vinckboons' drawing of a Prodigal Son scene, also dated 1608, in the British Museum. Goossens takes issue with Karel Boon and others who wrote that Van Mander as well as Cornelis van Haarlem showed Hals the way to his "merry company" picture. Goossens will have none of this. He states categorically: "It was not Van Mander but David Vinckboons who put Frans Hals on the road to the '*gezelschapje*'" (p. 92). He compares the print with the painting and concludes that except for a few minor changes Hals used Vinckboons as the model for his earliest known work.

Students will be grateful for Goossens' chronological catalogue of the forty-five paintings he accepts as genuine and for the list of paintings he rejects. Vinckboons' name is still used indiscriminately for pictures which vaguely resemble his style. Although Wurzbach wrote as early as 1910 that pictures cannot be attributed to Vinckboons upon the basis of the presence of a finch (*vinck*) in a tree (*boom*)—Wurzbach noted that "in den meisten Fallen scheinen diese Vögel inzwischen fortgeflogen zu sein"—the 1949 catalogue of the Musée d'Art Ancien in Brussels states the *Hunt of Diana*, No. 498, has ". . . sur un tronc d'arbe: un pinson (marque spéciale de Vinckboons)." Goossens rightly rejects the picture and calls it a work by an Antwerp master made around 1625.

The task of establishing a canon of Vinckboons' oeuvre is complicated by the numerous extant versions of the same picture. For example, Jorgen Sthyr ("David Vinckboons," *Old Master Drawings*, xiv, 1939, pp. 8ff.), called attention to eight paintings made after Vinckboons' drawing of a Kermis in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen. Goossens adds a ninth to the list. It is difficult of course for the reader to decide upon the basis of reproductions if the version of the *Distribution of Food to the Poor* in Copenhagen (fig. 54) is, as Goossens states, an early autograph version of the same subject that is in Stockholm (fig. 53), or if the compiler of the 1951 catalogue of the Copenhagen museum classified the picture correctly as "in David Vinckboons' style." Goossens carefully notes that he has not seen the Copenhagen picture. It is, however, clear that the Boston Museum of Fine Arts version of *The Struggle of Men and Animals Against Death and Father Time* (fig. 61) is, like the Buenos Aires variant, a weak copy after the print by Boetius a Bolswert, and

of the Lowenfeld picture P BRVE . . . L and the false date 1568. Bax, *op.cit.*, pp. 40ff., calls attention to a variant of the painting in the Old Town House, Cape Town, which is signed P. Bregel f. [sic]; he attributes it to the School of Pieter Bruegel II. In the short *Catalogue of the Michaelis Collection*, Cape Town, n.d., p. 20, no. 19, the picture is listed as *Village Scene* by Vinckboons. Bax also mentions that a variant was in a Berlin auction, 8 November 1938. The main reason for trying to classify these pictures, which are usually dull and of poor quality, is that they may help us reconstruct lost works by Pieter Bruegel the Elder; see note 3 below.

3. This hypothesis is supported by a note to Bruegel's *Parable of the Blind* in Naples, in F. Grossmann, *Bruegel: The Paintings*, London, n.d., p. 203: "In 1559 he (Bruegel) had included blind men in his picture of *Carnival and Lent* (Vienna), in 1562 he made a drawing of three blind people (now in Berlin) and from several early inventory entries as well as from paintings and drawings by other artists (especially his elder son Pieter and Martin van Cleve), which appear to be inspired by Bruegel, we can deduce the existence of further compositions of this kind."

is not, as Goossens writes, an authentic work by Vinckboons. The Boston picture is properly and candidly listed in the *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings*, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1955, p. 72, no. 74.3, under the heading of "Paintings not Suitable for Exhibition."

Goossens does not mention Vinckboons' interesting picture of a *Lottery*, which according to Van Mander was painted in 1603 and was in the office of the Oudemannenhuis in Amsterdam. The large painting—it measured fourteen by eight feet—was a night scene and represented a great crowd watching a lottery held to raise funds to enlarge the Oudemannen en Vrouwenhuis. This early example of a Dutch night scene illuminated by lanterns and lights seems to have disappeared.⁴

Unfortunately Goossens did not make a detailed study of Vinckboons' accomplishment as a draughtsman in his monograph. His drawings present the same problem his paintings pose; too many have wrongly been given his name. But such a study would be worth making. Nothing in his painted *oeuvre* approaches the mood of the fairy-tale forest—complete with a coach drawn by two white horses—that serves as the setting for the early drawing of the *Baptism of the Ethiopian Eunuch* in the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College. Vinckboons' prints also present a problem which Goossens does not raise. Not enough of them can be found. Johann Rudolph Fuessli accepted twenty-two etchings by Vinckboons in his *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* published in 1779. Nineteenth and twentieth century connoisseurs whittled down this number and Ludwig Burchard (1917) drastically cut it to one: *The Bag-pipe Player*, dated 1606. Burchard knew that his decision complicated rather than simplified matters, for he was aware of Van Mander's statement, published in 1604, that Vinckboons etched and engraved. What has happened to the prints Vinckboons made before 1604? Julius Held suggested that the monogrammed etching of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was one of them, and upon the basis of a stylistic analysis he dated the etching around 1602-1603.⁵ Held's conclusion proves

to be quite right, for Goossens calls attention to a signed preparatory drawing for the etching, in the Rijksmuseum, dated 1604. Thus we can now assert that the canon of Vinckboons' graphic work consists of two etchings. Would a study of other prints formerly attributed to Vinckboons raise the number?

In my judgment Goossens sometimes overstates Vinckboons' originality and influence. The distinction he makes between the content of Van Coninxloo and Vinckboons' early work is a valuable one, but the young Vinckboons' debt to Van Coninxloo should not be minimized. Van Mander referred to Van Coninxloo's importance for the development of Dutch landscape painting when he wrote that Gillis had many followers in Holland, and that the trees that were always a little barren in that country were now beginning to grow like his. Van Mander added that some nurserymen did not like to admit this; he would have counted Goossens as one of them. Vinckboons carefully studied the works of Van Coninxloo. Goossens himself calls the *Mountain Landscape* (fig. 13), which he dates around 1600-1601, formerly in the possession of C. Benedict, and which was attributed to Van Coninxloo, a copy by Vinckboons of the distant view of mountains seen in the engraving Nicola de Bruyn made after Van Coninxloo's *Judgment of Paris* (fig. 12). Both the conception and composition of Vinckboons' early views of the interiors of luxuriant forests (*Wood with a Hunting Scene*, fig. 8, dated 1602, in the collection of Dr. E. Perman, Stockholm and the *Baptism of the Eunuch*, fig. 9, dated around 1603) are based upon pictures like Van Coninxloo's *Wood with Hunters*, dated 1598, in the Liechtenstein Collection in Vaduz and the majestic *Forest*, painted a few years later, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

If Goossens maintains that Van Coninxloo's influence upon Vinckboons has been magnified, he believes it downright wrong to suggest that Carel Van Mander's works had any effect upon the artist from Mechelen. He categorically rejects the statement Elizabeth Valentin made in her monograph on Van Mander that Vinckboons' earliest dated work, *Figures in a Park*

4. "Een lotery van't Oudemannenhuis" was sold for 13 guilders at an auction of pictures belonging to Cornelis van der Voort on 7 April 1614 in Amsterdam; see N. de Roever, "Drie Amsterdamsche Schilders. (Pieter Isaaksz, Abraham Vinck, Cornelis van der Voort)," *Oud Holland*, III, 1885, p. 193. Since this painting fetched such a low price, it is unlikely that it was the *Lottery* painted by one of Amsterdam's most popular artists. Isaac Commelin, *Beschrijvingh der Stadt Amsterdam*, edited by Tobias van Domselser, Amsterdam, 1665, IV, pp. 145f., mentions that a painting of the lottery can be seen in the women's dining hall of the Oude-mannen en Vrouwenhuis, but unfortunately he does not cite the name of the artist who painted the picture. The same reference is repeated *verbatim* in the 1693 edition of the work edited by Casparus Commelin (p. 572). Hanns Floerke, editor and translator of a German edition of Van Mander, published in 1906, notes that the 1603 *Lottery* is "Noch an Ort Stelle." Floerke was wrong. The institution closed its doors in 1848, and in 1880 the three-year-old University of Amsterdam moved into the remodeled Oude-mannenhuis; around that time all the paintings in the building are said to have been moved to the Rijksmuseum. I am indebted to K. Boon of the Rijksmuseum for

informing me that there is no evidence that Vinckboons' *Lottery* was ever in the museum in Amsterdam. Coninxloo, *op.cit.*, p. 428, suggested that the *Lottery* mentioned by Van Mander is perhaps the painting of a similar subject attributed to Gillis Coignet (Congnet), formerly in the Rijksmuseum, no. 705, and now in the Waag in Amsterdam. This suggestion must be rejected because the painting attributed to Coignet, who was also praised by Van Mander for his night scenes, represents a lottery held in 1591 to get funds for the Dol-huis and not the Oude-mannenhuis. Mr. Boon also kindly advised me that Coignet's painting is clearly dated 1592. This is an additional reason to reject Coninxloo's hypothesis. Van Mander wrote that the *Lottery* was painted in 1603.

5. J. S. Held, "Notes on David Vinckboons," *Oud Holland*, LXVI, 1951, pp. 241ff. Coninxloo, *op.cit.*, p. 439, noted there is an impression in the British Museum; there is a third in the Rijksmuseum's Print Room. Held's article contains the best summary of the literature on Vinckboons' prints. I am grateful to him for calling my attention to the reference in Fuessli, which escaped earlier students. He rightly suggested that Fuessli's statement, like most of what he wrote, probably goes back to another source.

(fig. 4), engraved by Nicola de Bruyn in 1601, is indebted to the engraving Jacques de Gheyn made in 1596 after Van Mander's *Prodigal Son*. Goossens states that the Mechelen painters Bol and Lucas van Valkenborch represented scenes showing small figures in a landscape before Van Mander did, and that ultimately the motif goes back to fifteenth century *plaisance* tapestries. This is true. But it does not preclude the possibility that when Vinckboons made his "verscheyden Lantschappen, met Moderne beeldekens," he found inspiration in Van Mander's works. The elegant and mannered poses of the lovers who stroll through the park that serves as a set for this early seventeenth century *fête galante* are closer to those used by Van Mander than to the figures who populate the gardens designed by either Bol or Van Valkenborch.

Goossens disagrees with the suggestion frequently put forward that the bordello scene from the *Prodigal Son* story is one of the ancestors of the "merry company" picture. It seems reasonable, however, to continue to accept the traditional idea that the motif has a multiple ancestry and not only love-garden scenes and the *Prodigal Son* story must be considered, but also mannerist representations of the Feast of the Gods must be reviewed when the question of its origins is discussed. Goossens notes that Hals' "merry company" picture of a *Banquet in a Park*, formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, is based upon Vinckboons' *Prodigal Son* of 1608. There is no reason to doubt that Hals was familiar with Visscher's engraving of Vinckboons' drawing, but when Goossens insists "it was not Van Mander but David Vinckboons who put Frans Hals on the road to the 'gezelschapje'" he overestimates the importance of his protagonist upon the greatest painter who worked in Holland before Rembrandt. George Poensgen ("Beiträge zur Kunst des Willem Buytewech," *Jbh. d. preuss. Kunstsamm.*, XLVII, 1926, pp. 87ff.) was the first student to call attention to the similarity of the lost painting to Visscher's engraving of Vinckboons' *Prodigal Son*. Poensgen incorrectly attributed the painting to Buytewech, but correctly emphasized how close parts of the Berlin painting, which differ from the print, are to works by the Dutch mannerists: the classical ruins in the background were taken from an engraving Jacques de Gheyn made in 1596 of Van Mander's *Prodigal Son*—the very print Elizabeth Valentiner suggested that Vinckboons himself studied in his youth; the drapery that is tied to two trees is found in works by Cornelis van Haarlem, Gerrit Pietersz, and Goltzius; and the lively, elegant movement of the figures, the flickering light and the gristly trees are all characteristic of the last moment of Dutch mannerism. Goossens, who does not cite Poensgen's article, does not mention any of these points. The affinities between Hals' painting and works

by the Dutch mannerists should not surprise us. After all, Hals was in Haarlem at least since 1591, and the leading artists there were Goltzius, Cornelis van Haarlem, and Van Mander. And moreover, Van Mander was Hals' teacher.

Earlier critics tended to dismiss Dutch painting because it was a mere imitation of nature—and usually of nature at her worst, instead of at her best moments. Today we are prepared to find hidden or, in any event, overlooked meanings in Dutch pictures, and Goossens rightly calls attention to the satiric and moralizing aspect of some of Vinckboons' works. But it is not always possible to follow his argument. For example, he writes that if a drawing of a *Peasant Kermis* (fig. 36), which he states is signed and dated 1605,⁶ is compared with the drawing of a *Peasant Kermis* (fig. 30), dated 1602, in Copenhagen, we can see how Vinckboons began to moralize in his kermis scenes. Some of the couples among the crowd in the former drawing are engaged in overt love-play; in the foreground a dead-drunk peasant is stretched out upon the ground and a pig is at his side. Such activities are not seen in the 1602 drawing. According to Goossens, the pig who sniffs at the drunken man undoubtedly has a symbolic meaning, and, he continues, two of the couples are doing things which probably never happened in public; therefore, he concludes, it was obviously Vinckboons' intention to give a critique of peasant debauchery. Now, perhaps Vinckboons was censoring the vulgarity of the peasants. The scene can even be considered a representation of the vices of lust and gluttony. But the presence of a few amorous couples and a pig on a Dutch village street can also be interpreted as a pure genre scene without didactic or moralistic overtones. Until the subject of the drawing is related to traditional and contemporary representations of the theme and to current notions and attitudes about vice, and the differences established between refined and vulgar drinking and carousing—which Goossens does not attempt—Vinckboons' intent remains moot.

And finally, if attention is rightly called to Vinckboons' achievement as a landscape artist, it is necessary to modify and expand his description of the background against which this accomplishment took place. It is here particularly that an analysis of the drawings is missed. The precise relationship of his landscape drawings to those by Van Coninxloo, who still worked within the mannerist tradition, to those by Claes Jansz Visscher and by Esaias and Jan van de Velde, who represent the new style, must be established before a balanced appraisal of Vinckboons' place in the development can be made. Goossens overestimates the importance of Elsheimer's influence upon the pioneers of Dutch landscape painting. Hollar's copies after Elsheimer's works of course had no effect upon them: Hollar was born in

6. The drawing is listed as signed and dated 1603 in the sales catalogue of the American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, Inc., March 27-28, 1930, The Roerich Museum Sale, no. 98. It is impossible to tell from the reproduction of the drawing in either the sales catalogue or in Goossens' book if it is dated 1603 or 1605. The location of the drawing

is unknown. Goossens erroneously states (pp. 74-75) that the drawing is at "Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York." He does not cite an auction date or a sales number; Dr. Oswald Goetz, of Parke-Bernet Galleries, kindly informed me that there is no record of the drawing passing through their sales room.

1607; his earliest extant works are dated around 1627, when he left Prague; and the earliest date listed in Parthey of a print made by Hollar after Elsheimer is 1646. Goudt's prints after Elsheimer's works were certainly studied by Claes Jansz Visscher and Jan van de Velde shortly after they were pulled, but the real Dutch followers of the Italianate German were Lastman, Pynas, Uytenbroeck, and Moeyart, who were in Italy and saw Elsheimer or his works first hand. The assertion that "the most gifted young men gradually escape from Elsheimer's influence, and finally around 1620 the three most representative artists find their style" (p. 58) simply does not square with what is known about the early pictures of Hercules Seghers, Esaias van de Velde, and Buytewech.

Goossens' statement that "Seghers' etching of the *Great Tree* must have been completed by 1620" (p. 58) may be correct, but it is difficult to see how he arrived at this date, since no generally accepted chronology of Seghers' etchings has been established. We are, however, on firmer ground when we consider what is known about the early works by Esaias van de Velde and Buytewech. Wolfgang Stechow ("Esaias van de Velde and the Beginnings of Dutch Landscape Painting," *Nederlandsch kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, I, 1947, pp. 83ff.) showed that around 1614-1616 Van de Velde had already painted landscapes that eliminate the panoramic effect used by mannerist artists, and that the low point of view and the free brush-work of the pictures he made at this time herald the subsequent evolution of Van Goyen, Molyn, and Salomon van Ruysdael. And J. G. van Gelder ("De Etsen van Willem Buytewech," *Oud Holland*, XLVIII, 1931, pp. 59ff.) demonstrated that Buytewech etched his famous landscape series in 1616 and not in 1621 as Goossens maintains. Now, an important point would be missed here if we argue that Vinckboons was *retardataire* while Van de Velde and Buytewech were narrowing their field of vision and dropping their horizons, or if we adopt Goossens' suggestion that Vinckboons' newly-forged landscape style, which culminated in 1624, was uninfluential in Holland because it was obscured by the new mannerism of Elsheimer's followers. No single artist can be given the palm for making the break from mannerism to the new Dutch landscape style and for forcing his way of looking at nature upon his contemporaries. There is no Caravaggio of Dutch landscape painting. Hercules Seghers, the greatest of all of them, was the least influential; the dramatic mystery of the private world he explored was foreign to all the artists of his generation, as indeed it was to all Dutch landscape painters except Rembrandt and Jacob van Ruysdael. A group of artists found the new vision. We are grateful to Korneel Goossens for showing us what role Vinckboons played in this discovery. His monograph helps fill the gap in our knowledge of what happened in the Netherlands during the crucial years the foundation for the great achievement of Dutch painting was laid.

SEYMOUR SLIVE
Harvard University

MARGARETE KÜHN, *Schloss Charlottenburg*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1955. Pp. 150; 80 figs.; 80 pls.; plan. DM 38.00.

Since 1950 a parade ground has marked the spot in East Berlin where once stood Andreas Schlüter's and Eosander von Goethe's Schloss, the most important structure in the city and one of the distinguished monuments of German baroque architecture. Although it had been shattered during the Berlin bombardment, its structural condition in general was by no means hopeless; the building could have been saved and restored. The East German government, however, resolved to destroy all traces of the Hohenzollern dynasty and the tradition of centuries, was uninterested in restoration. So the Schloss was dynamited. The government's promise to have measured drawings and photographs made and to save some of the important architectural and sculptural details was not properly kept. Tremendously impoverished by this loss, Berlin has only one other building that can to some extent be compared with the former Schloss, and that is the Schloss Charlottenburg. In fact, with all the more important eighteenth century public buildings and palaces of the court and nobility located in East Berlin, most of which have sustained irreparable damage, Charlottenburg alone represents the illustrious past when Berlin was a capital city and the residence of kings; and since Charlottenburg itself has a claim to architectural fame, its importance can hardly be exaggerated.

It is most timely, therefore, that we should receive a monograph on Charlottenburg by Dr. Margarete Kühn, who has been in charge of the Schloss since pre-Hitler days and has devoted years of study to eighteenth century architecture. All important is the fact that Dr. Kühn had studied Charlottenburg when it was still intact and archive sources were available in their entirety. Fortunately, the study was completed before the palace was severely damaged by bombs in 1943, and the author was well advised to publish the book in this version as an eye-witness account. A chapter has been added which reports on the losses in detail.

The history of Charlottenburg reflects the history of Prussian rulers from the end of the seventeenth until well into the nineteenth century. In 1695 Elector Frederick III (later King Frederick I) ordered a small summer residence built for the Electress Sophie Charlotte in the country west of Berlin near the village of Luetzen. Sophie Charlotte (1668-1705), the daughter of the Electress Sophie of Hanover and sister of George I of England, with Stuart blood in her veins, was one of the really great women of her time. When she was fifteen she had stayed with her mother at the Court of Louis XIV and completely charmed the king. Later Leibniz, a great friend of her mother and perhaps the most outstanding man of his period, had helped in educating and shaping her mind and remained a friend and admirer through her short life. After the death of his wife Sophie Charlotte in 1705, Frederick I enlarged the palace. Later Frederick II added a wing; his successors, Frederick William II and III, made only

a number of minor changes in the interior of the palace.

It is not apparent that Sophie Charlotte took any lead in planning and building her residence. The manor was designed by Arnold Nering, the official court architect, and while Nering was not an architect of any great distinction, it was he who acquainted Berlin with the basic elements of the French *château* developed by Louis Levau. Like Levau's Vaux-Le-Vicomte, Charlottenburg has an oval hall protruding from the middle of the garden façade, but instead of the graceful balance of the square entrance hall at Vaux with a *sala terrena* on the garden side, Charlottenburg offers only an unimportant hallway as an equilibrium. The stairway, though stately, is tucked away at the side and attracts little attention.

The architect of Charles XI of Sweden, Count Nikodemus Tessin the younger, who had studied with Bernini and Fontana, was consulted about Nering's arrangement. He had some misgivings and suggested a great staircase where Levau had placed his square hall. This suggestion was not accepted, perhaps because Sophie Charlotte did not wish her country manor to seem too formal. Soon after the cornerstone was laid, Nering died, and the structure was finished by Martin Gruenberg, an official of small importance. When the Swede, Johann Friedrich Eosander von Goethe, became court architect in 1702, it was found that the building was too small. This permitted Eosander the opportunity of introducing the French idea of the *cours d'honneur*. The palace was to be enlarged on both sides and a wing was to join the central portion at either end and at a right angle; a tower crowned by a cupola was to stress the center of the building.

When the Queen died in 1705 this plan was still under consideration, and Frederick, who in the meantime had proclaimed himself king and felt it necessary to add dignity to his position with more regal surroundings, ordered the plan to be carried out. The palace, now called Charlottenburg, could easily have developed into a vast summer seat in the style of Versailles. The grand plan of the building, begun shortly after the death of the queen, was published in the *Teatrum Europæum* in 1717 and shows the design of a princely residence on an enormous scale. Those parts which were completed by 1716 follow the plan fairly closely. Of significance is the way in which the center of the building is dominated by a tower crowned with a cupola, while the lower side wings are emphasized by center pavilions. Of the two court yards that were planned, only the inner one was completed.

Parterres were laid out on the garden front in a manner which made the best use of the available area. Because the River Spree narrows the space, it did not allow a completely symmetric order, but it was possible to arrange a long vista in the middle axis of the palace and to enhance the view by making good use of the Spree.

Enough elements of the decoration of the central part of the building, where Sophie Charlotte lived, as well as the quarters which Frederick I added, have survived to provide Dr. Kühn with substantial evidence

for gauging the essentials that shaped the interior of the palace. Sophie Charlotte's mind was not directed toward formality nor was she interested in having introduced the latest French features in style or elegance. Thus the early architects devised a rather sober structure, but the artistically-minded princess was pleased to furnish her apartments with carved or lacquered furniture in the Chinese taste, with imported china, and to decorate the ceilings with copies of Correggio rather than with compositions in the formal style of the Roman or Florentine schools. Sophie Charlotte was determined to secure the Dutch painter Anton Schoonjans to paint her ceiling because she believed him to be "fort capable," and she patiently kept on writing to the rather unreliable artist until he finally condescended to come to Berlin. Thanks to Dr. Kühn's assiduous combing of the archives and combining the results with the study of the locale and the remaining furniture, we are given a most detailed and reliable picture of the surroundings of Sophia Charlotte. Thus we receive a true pattern of the way the living quarters of a great lady were shaped.

When the King had the palace rearranged by Eosander, its purpose became quite different and the scene was changed. Dominated by the rather plain and uninspiring nature of the monarch, Charlottenburg lost much of the personal character it had owed the queen. Instead, it became a residence worthy of a king. As Eosander had become acquainted with modern French trends during his stay in Paris, French influence in style now was obvious. One of the outstanding creations of Eosander was his decoration of the so-called "China Cabinet," a room of respectable size, the walls of which were covered with innumerable pieces of imported china arranged in a decorative scheme that is original in character. Miraculously, this room escaped damage when the palace was bombed.

After the death of Frederick I, his son, Frederick William I, did nothing to complete the building, and the majority of the architects and artisans who had been busy up to 1714 abandoned Berlin. When Frederick II ascended the throne in 1740, the picture changed again. At first it seemed that the king would choose Charlottenburg as his permanent residence. Though this proved not to be the case and the king showed a marked preference for Potsdam, he did order the addition of another wing to the east end of the palace. This was to contain residential quarters and some assembly rooms suitable for receptions, all to be located in the *piano nobile* to which a wide monumental staircase was to lead. The architect was Georg Wenceslas von Knobelsdorff, a courtier and artist whom the king had sent to Italy to study architecture. Knobelsdorff, however, also became acquainted with French trends by way of Strasbourg where he had seen De Cottes' palace built for Cardinal Rohan.

The most important hall of the new wing was the so-called "Golden Gallery." Aided by the sculptor and stuccoist Johann August Nahl, Knobelsdorff created one of the marvels of the Rococo period. The walls of the hall, about four times longer than it is wide and lighted by windows on both sides, were covered with

gilt stucco ornaments set against green stuccolustro ground. The decoration of the slightly vaulted ceiling consisted of a scheme of stucco ornaments on a background of pink and celadon green. Nobody who ever saw this hall in raking sunlight or with its ornaments glittering in the sparkle of candlelight from five crystal chandeliers could have remained unmoved by the brilliance of the spectacle.

The question that has been discussed frequently is how much of the creative spirit of the rich ornamental decoration so apparent here is due to the architect and how much to the sculptor. Dr. Kühn very wisely does not venture to give an explicit answer. She recognizes the fact that if the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* means anything at all, it should be applied here. The extraordinary quality achieved is due to a cooperative spirit of singular strength and effect that cannot be analyzed in detail.

Throughout the period of Frederick the Great's successors, Charlottenburg experienced no major changes except for the living quarters arranged for Frederick William II, some minor changes and an additional garden pavilion built for Frederick William III by Carl Schinkel. In addition to the architectural history of the palace, Dr. Kühn adds an account of the development of the formal park (now mostly reduced to the status of an "English park") and some minor buildings.

A number of chapters are dedicated to detailed information concerning the interior decoration and furniture of the palace throughout three centuries. This is very welcome as we are thus provided with a unique chance to study the development of Berlin court furniture, which follows the European evolution in general but does show a number of trends of its own. The text, illustrated with close to 250 excellent halftones, many of them on full plates, is lucid and reads particularly smoothly as all material of lesser importance is relegated to the copious footnotes.

Dr. Kühn's book convincingly disposes of a number of controversial issues concerning Charlottenburg. Andreas Schlüter did not play any part in building the palace, and there is no reason to believe in Lenotre's alleged authorship of the plan of the formal park. Dr. Kühn reduces to its proper scale the much too sweeping assumption of Friedrich Bleibaum that the sculptor Nahl and the King's architect Knobelsdorff worked independent of each other for Charlottenburg.¹

Dr. Kühn's book provides a well-rounded complex of material for the student of German eighteenth century architecture and decoration, which will allow for comparative studies of other art centers of the period. The North German variety of Baroque architecture, and especially the later period of this style, is far less known than that of middle or south Germany.

It is to be hoped that under the guidance of Dr. Kühn as much as possible will be reconstructed in Charlottenburg, so that some of the past glory can be visualized by posterity.

HANS HUTH

The Art Institute of Chicago

M. L. HAIRS, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris-Brussels, Elsevier, 1955. Pp. 264; 77 figs.; 6 color pls. 495 Belgian francs.

This book, which forms part of the series "Les peintres flamands du XVIIIe siècle," under the editorial direction of Leo van Puyvelde, is the first comprehensive study of Flemish flower-painting of the seventeenth century. It provides further proof of the inexhaustible variety and richness of Flemish Baroque art: for this is an examination, not of still life in general, but of only one branch of still life—a surprisingly vigorous and flourishing one. A catalogue prepared by the author lists over 1300 flower-pieces by some one hundred masters, most of whom were specialists in the subject. Though floral painting may strike us today as a genre particularly congenial to women artists (the present book is by a woman), the flower specialists of the seventeenth century were in fact almost all male. Their intimate and secluded world might seem to be far removed from the lordly spaciousness of Rubens and Van Dyck; but Rubens was not blind to the virtues of these "little masters," and did not think it beneath him to collaborate with them.

Antwerp was the chief center of flower-painting, but the demand for flower-pieces was by no means confined to Flanders alone. Jan Bruegel the Elder counted as one of his principal clients the Milanese cardinal, Federico Borromeo (who, incidentally, owned the only certain still life by Caravaggio, the *Basket of Fruit*, now in the Ambrosiana). The works of the Jesuit, Daniel Seghers, were eagerly sought after by the Protestant Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, whose secretary, Constantijn Huygens, apostrophized Seghers as "painter of flowers and flower of painters."

As a clear and systematic presentation of a complex subject, Dr. Hairs' monograph makes a most welcome contribution. The discussion of style is sensitive and informative, and the attributions are both reasonable and unprejudiced. Documentary sources have been carefully explored for what light they may shed on the subject. And the catalogue, though not intended to be definitive, will unquestionably prove to be of great value to students in this field.

The brief opening chapter, "Les Précurseurs," covers much the same ground as the introductory pages of Ingvar Bergström's excellent book, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1956; first published in Swedish, 1947). Both authors, it may be noted, firmly reject the idea advanced by Charles Sterling that the origins of Netherlandish floral and still-life painting are to be found in Italy. Their position is the more orthodox (and no doubt correct) one that the tradition stems organically from the Flemish naturalism of the fifteenth century; they likewise stress the importance, during the succeeding century, of the scientific study of flowers, the growth of botanical gardens, and, lastly, the extraordinary phenomenon known as "tulipomania." Dr. Hairs is not willing to admit, with J. G. van Gelder, that Flemish painters found a ready source of inspiration in the en-

1. Johann August Nahl, Baden bei Wien, 1933.

gravings of flowers which had such a vogue around 1600.

Chapters II and III are devoted to Jan "Velvet" Bruegel (or "Brueghel" as he himself frequently spelled the name) and his pupil, Daniel Seghers, who were certainly the leading flower-painters of the seventeenth century. It is fitting that their works should be analyzed at some length, since the other Flemish masters, as the author points out, tend to orient themselves around these two *chefs de file*.

The thoroughness of Dr. Hairs' method may be illustrated by her chapter on Jan Bruegel (called "Velvet," it would seem, from his preference for garments of that material). We are first given a concise biographical sketch of the artist. There follows a careful analysis of the authentic floral subjects, in which twenty-one signed or documented paintings provide the basis for a study of style. The author next considers the attributed works, grouping them according to types: vases of flowers, cups with flowers, baskets of flowers, still-life subjects with flowers, etc. One type seems to have been an invention of Bruegel himself: the garland surrounding a picture, generally a religious image, often done in collaboration with Rubens. In this connection one error might be mentioned, which is surely the result of an oversight. Rubens' *Three Graces*, in the Prado, belongs to the last years of the master's career (1638-1640) and not, as the author states, to the period 1613-1615; thus the garland of flowers above the figures cannot have been executed by Bruegel, who died in 1625. Doubtless there has been some confusion with the earlier versions of the subject, in Stockholm and the Vienna Academy.

The chapter on Daniel Seghers, in many ways the best in the book, follows the same plan as that on Bruegel. The life of the Jesuit painter being little known, the author gives more space to the documentary sources and biographical details, and in so doing rectifies several minor errors that have commonly been repeated in the literature. Even more than his master Bruegel, Seghers was a true specialist. He painted only flower-pieces, and these, moreover, were limited to two kinds, bouquets and garlands. The earliest dated work extant is the elegant *Vase of Flowers* in the Museum of Art of Toledo (Ohio), which is signed and dated 1635. The distinctive type of garland that is always associated with his name makes its appearance about 1640. Whereas Bruegel had enclosed the principal subject within a continuous circular or oval chain of flowers, Seghers devised a more energetic disposition with separate festoons hung upon a sculptural cartouche. The type is seen in its most monumental form in the *St. Ignatius of Loyola* of 1643 in the Antwerp Museum. This formula he employed for religious images and portraits alike, the figures being invariably executed by a collaborator. It is indicative of the reputation enjoyed by the artist that his floral garlands were generally prized more than the figure-subjects they adorned. Dr. Hairs is skeptical of the tradition, not seriously questioned until now, that Seghers collaborated with Rubens; while not excluding the possibility (they were

known to be friends), she rightly emphasizes the lack of reliable evidence, either pictorial or textual.

The remaining flower-painters, inevitably overshadowed by the greater brilliance and originality of Jan Bruegel and Daniel Seghers, are the subject of the lengthy final chapter. We begin with Bruegel's contemporaries, three of whom stand out conspicuously: Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, Jacques de Gheyn II, and Roelandt Savery. Though born in Flanders, all three emigrated to Holland, probably for religious reasons. As painters, are they Flemish or Dutch? Our author has no hesitation in claiming them for Flanders: "à cette époque où la formation technique était chose décisive, il est permis de dire que ces trois peintres appartiennent à l'École flamande." Bergström, on the other hand, gives even more space to the three in his monograph on Dutch still-life painting, and plainly regards them as legitimate members of the Dutch school. We are no doubt safe in concluding that the early development of still life, up to about 1600, is common to the whole Netherlands, Flanders and Holland alike: the three *émigrés* are at once Flemish and Dutch. Garlands surrounding pious images find no place in their work; their preference is for vases of flowers, generally placed within a niche. Bosschaert varies the formula occasionally, as in the beautiful panel in the Mauritshuis, by setting the bouquet within an arched window-opening, through which is seen a deep landscape.

Of Jan Bruegel's immediate followers, many of them his relatives, the most interesting is perhaps Andries Daniels, painter of garlands, whom Dr. Hairs rescued from oblivion a few years ago. Curiously enough, he was a pupil, not of Jan, but of Pieter Bruegel the Younger, known as "Hell" Bruegel.

In the succeeding section, which treats of the numerous followers of Daniel Seghers, we are continually reminded that scores of paintings that have traditionally been attributed to the Jesuit artist are in reality the work of imitators. Seghers had only one pupil (this was Jan Philip van Thielen), but his mode of disposing flower-garlands around a sculptural cartouche was much admired, and therefore was emulated, with varying skill, by many painters from about the middle of the century on. The author carefully distinguishes between the styles of these lesser personalities, though it must be said that her exposition is hampered by being too sparsely illustrated.

Yet another group consists of those still-life painters who only on occasion represented floral subjects. The list is headed by Osias Beert the Elder, who is best known for his breakfast-pieces, but whose flower-paintings are worthy to rank with those by Bruegel, Bosschaert, and De Gheyn. We now know that Beert collaborated with Rubens: Bergström has recently shown, in an absolutely convincing manner, that the flowers in Rubens' *Pausias and Glycera* (Ringling Museum, Sarasota), are not by "Velvet" Bruegel, as has long been believed, but by Osias Beert the Elder.¹ Among his contemporaries was Clara Peeters, one of the few women artists of the period, who sometimes combined flowers with other still-life subjects. Also included in

1. I. Bergström, "Osias Beert the Elder as a Collaborator of Rubens," *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, 120ff.

this group are two of the leading masters of still life, Frans Snyder and Jan Fyt; the latter, we learn, was painting garlands around a stone cartouche almost as early as Seghers himself—presumably in imitation of the latter.

It has been noted that certain Flemish artists, like Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, emigrated to Holland and there contributed to the development of Dutch still-life painting. With Jan Davidsz. de Heem the situation was reversed. For this master, a native of Utrecht, passed much of his life in Antwerp, and exercised a considerable influence on both the Northern and Southern Netherlands. He was a prolific artist (Dr. Hairs' catalogue enumerates more than eighty signed flower-pieces), whose more opulent and decorative manner may be said to have inaugurated the late phase of Baroque still-life painting in the Low Countries. In contrast to Bergström, the author is inclined to minimize the importance of Daniel Seghers' influence upon the art of De Heem, maintaining that it was confined to paintings of one type (and that a most obvious one): the garland adorning a cartouche.

The book closes with a useful "Essai de Catalogue," to which reference has already been made. It includes flower-pieces known only from literary and documentary sources, and no doubt for the most part lost, as well as extant works in public and private collections. Sales catalogues have also been used to good effect in the compilation.

It remains only to add a few observations of a general nature. In a book of this kind, where it is frequently a question of distinguishing between closely related styles, the illustrations take on great importance. While it is unfortunately true that additional plates would have materially increased the cost, it must be said that seventy-seven black and white reproductions and six plates in color are hardly sufficient to meet the demands of the text. What is more, the only plates actually cited in the text are those in color; the black and white reproductions are nowhere referred to, with the irritating result that the reader must constantly leaf through the book to see whether or not a specific painting is illustrated.

It is also to be regretted that Dr. Hairs did not allow herself to devote a little more space to the iconography of her subject. For it seems likely that in the course of her researches she must have uncovered many illuminating details concerning the symbolism (or "disguised symbolism") of flower-painting. A notable example of this kind of symbolism is furnished by figure 11, reproducing a painting by Jan Bruegel the Elder: the fact that the flowers are here accompanied by jewels and a pocket-watch, emblems of luxury and transience, identifies this as a *Vanitas* still life, although our author does not speak of it as such. But then, in a work that is so plainly and necessarily oriented toward stylistic analysis, it would perhaps be unreasonable to expect a fuller consideration of the iconological aspects.

JOHN RUPERT MARTIN
Princeton University

VINCENT J. SCULLY, JR., *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955. Pp. 181; 161 figs. on 56 pls. \$6.50.

In recent years, nineteenth century American architecture has increasingly become the subject of scholarly research. The Federal and Greek Revival styles have been covered in general books and individual studies by such scholars as Fiske Kimball and Talbot Hamlin. However, works on the rest of the century have been limited, for the most part, to monographs on major architects, such as Richard Upjohn and Henry Hobson Richardson. Several men of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have also been the subject of research; the most important of these are Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the firm of McKim, Mead, and White. Despite this growing interest and research, a comprehensive study of the architectural development in America from 1840 is still lacking.

The publications of Vincent Scully on progressive tendencies in nineteenth century American domestic architecture are doing much to help fill this gap. Trained at Yale, where he now teaches, Professor Scully's first work was a joint one with Antoinette Downing entitled *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952). In this book the authors traced the development of the town from its wealthy colonial beginnings to its rise as a fashionable summer resort in the late nineteenth century. Scully's section dealt with the period 1840-1920. It was here that he first introduced his descriptive terms—"Stick Style" and "Shingle Style." The first of these was used to describe buildings characterized by picturesque massing, free formal invention, and structural expression of the wood framing sticks. He treated this style at greater length in "Romantic Rationalism and the Expression of Structure in Wood: Downing, Wheeler, Gardner, and the 'Stick Style,' 1840-1876" (THE ART BULLETIN, XXXV, 1953). In the book under review Scully expands his discussion of the second of these terms—"Shingle Style"—which is set into the historical context of nineteenth century domestic architecture, following the "Stick Style" and preceding the twentieth century developments of Frank Lloyd Wright and McKim, Mead, and White.

The Shingle Style is a discussion of wooden domestic building by certain progressive American architects from c. 1867 to c. 1890. Professor Scully's main thesis is that in the seventies and eighties American domestic architecture came to the forefront with an original contribution, which he has named the "Shingle Style." This is characterized in wooden suburban architecture by flowing space, openness of plan, piazzas, lightly scaled trim, and rough shingles. Elements of this style were destined to play an important part in the architecture of the twentieth century, particularly in the domestic works of Frank Lloyd Wright.

With great sensitivity and enthusiasm, Scully traces the new development in nine roughly chronological

chapters. Their arrangement by subject makes a certain overlapping in dates inevitable. In the opening chapter, he summarizes the "Stick Style" and surveys Richardson's work of the early seventies and its relation, which is less than frequently supposed, to the English Queen Anne of Norman Shaw. The illustrations for this chapter, which use for the most part photolithographs from contemporary periodicals, are most appropriate. For, as Scully acutely observes, this new soft and painterly technique of reproduction may help to account for the sketchiness and soft quality characteristic of the new houses just as the more linear wood engravings probably influenced "Stick Style" buildings. Besides showing the houses as the architects of the period saw them, these old photolithographs are more detailed and clearer than many of the more recent pictures that Scully uses, as the very poor photograph of the Moses Taylor House at Elberon, N.J. (fig. 26).

Chapter 2 covers the period 1864-1876 and treats the increasing importance of the Colonial Revival and the English Queen Anne, which then fuse. This development is admirably presented and well documented. The complicated weaving of English, Japanese, and native American influences, which form the basis for the "Shingle Style," is clearly explained and illustrated. Scully's great feeling for architecture is most evident throughout all of this chapter. His descriptions of plans and his ability to convey the feeling of interior space are quite remarkable in modern American scholarly writing and particularly appreciated because many of the crucial plans, which play such an important part in his arguments, are almost unreadable because of their small size.

The emergence of the "Shingle Style" is treated in the following three chapters. This section of the book is even more richly illustrated than the earlier part. The great wealth of illustrations in this section alone is not only most useful but remarkable, considering the modest cost of the book. In fact even some of the houses that Scully admits are not outstanding (several works by Alexander Oakley, for example) are pictured. However, one is particularly happy to have illustrations of the destroyed houses at Mount Desert, such as the "House for a Boston Gentleman" by W. B. Emerson in 1879. But the reviewer wonders about Scully's brilliant analysis of the space in this house, since it is only known from a sketch and plan, on which, by necessity,

the author's remarks are based. Particularly in these chapters the reader has the feeling that the demands of layout, rather than importance to the text, have determined the size, number, and placement of illustrations. This has two disturbing results. Certain important plans are often small in size, or omitted, and houses of varying merits are shown in the same size of reproduction.

The importance of Richardson in the development of the mature "Shingle Style" is well described in Chapter 6, which is, unfortunately, inadequately illustrated. The references to specific plates in Henry-Russell Hitchcock's monograph are helpful only if this out-of-print book is at the reader's elbow. Scully continues the history of the mature "Shingle Style" with a study of the work of McKim, Mead, and White. The works of the seventies and eighties by members of this firm are discussed with great sensitivity and understanding, but Scully's approach to their later work, which is more in the Beaux-Arts academic tradition, is a completely negative one. This is not surprising, since the author is concerned solely with the progressive tendencies of the period. Furthermore, he has shown his lack of sympathy for the Beaux-Arts in his discussion of Richard Morris Hunt in Chapter 3. While many of Scully's criticisms are valid, particularly the remarks on the evils of large architectural offices, his view is often that of a modern critic interested in advanced ideas of the past that have a link with the present. This modernity of approach was evident in early sections of the book when Scully cited modern parallels in the works of LeCorbusier and Breuer for some of the structural innovations of the "Shingle Style" architecture.

The last section of the book, on the origins and early development of Frank Lloyd Wright, is one of Scully's best. This chapter, in part an expansion of an article by Henry-Russell Hitchcock¹ shows a mature understanding and a just handling of the academic tradition and of the early work of one of America's greatest architects.

The book is completed by excellent and shrewdly annotated bibliographical notes—a fitting conclusion to a pioneer work, which presents an important part of the story of architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century.

THOMAS J. MC CORMICK
Fleming Museum, University of Vermont

1. "Frank Lloyd Wright and the 'Academic Tradition,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VII, 1944.



LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- Albright Art Gallery, *Contemporary Art—Acquisitions 1954-1957; Catalogue of an Exhibition held May 15-June 15, 1957*, Buffalo, 1957. Pp. 55; 72 pls.; 2 color pls. \$2.00.
- American Association of Architectural Bibliographers, *Index of American Architectural Drawings before 1900*, Charlottesville, Va., 1957. Pp. 24.
- ARCHER, W. G., *Indian Painting*, New York, Oxford University Press (Iris Books), 1957. Pp. 22; 6 figs.; 15 color pls. \$8.00.
- BALTRUSAITIS, JURGIS, *Aberrations—quatre essais sur la légende des formes*, Paris, Editions Olivier Perrin, 1957. Pp. 135; 90 figs.
- BAUR, JOHN I. H. (ed.) and LLOYD GOODRICH, DOROTHY C. MILLER, JAMES THRALL SOBY, and FREDERICK S. WIGHT, *New Art in America*, Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society & Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1957. Pp. 282; 177 figs.; 50 color pls. \$22.50.
- BETHERS, RAY, *How to Find Your Own Style in Painting*, New York, Hastings House, 1957. Pp. 96; 55 figs. \$3.50.
- Bibliografia di Carlo L. Ragghianti, anni 1933-1955*, Florence, Vallecchi Editore, 1955. Pp. 36.
- BONNARD, ANDRÉ, *Greek Civilization from the Iliad to the Parthenon*, translated by A. Lytton Sells, New York, Macmillan, 1957. Pp. 200; 32 pls. \$6.00.
- BOTHMER, DIETRICH VON, *Amazons in Greek Art*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 252; 90 pls. \$26.90.
- BRIEGER, PETER, *English Art, 1216-1307*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 299; 23 figs.; 96 pls. \$11.50. (Oxford History of English Art, iv)
- BUCHOWIECKI, WALTHER, *Der Barockbau der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek in Wien, ein Werk J. F. Fischers von Erlach*, Vienna, Georg Prachner Verlag, 1957. Pp. 248; 94 figs. S. 260.00. (Muscion, Veröffentlichungen der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien, n. f., 1)
- BUSHNELL, G. H. S., *Peru*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 207; 11 figs.; 48 pls. \$5.00.
- CARLI, ENZO, *Sienese Painting*, Greenwich, Conn., New York Graphic Society, 1957. Pp. 72; 75 pls.; 62 color pls. \$25.00.
- CAVARNOS, CONSTANTINE (ed.), *Byzantine Sacred Art; Selected Writings of the Contemporary Greek Icon Painter Fotis Kontoglou on the Sacred Arts According to the Tradition of Eastern Orthodox Christianity . . .*, New York, Vantage Press, 1957. Pp. 111; 12 pls. \$3.00.
- CHATZIDAKIS, M., *Byzantine Monuments in Attica and Boeotia*, Athens, Athens' Editions, 1956. Pp. 27; 5 figs.; 22 color pls. \$10.00.
- Chinese Art Society, *Archives*, x, 1956. Pp. 87; many figs. \$7.50.
- DE ZURKO, EDWARD ROBERT, *Origins of Functionalism Theory*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1957. Pp. 265; 1 pl. \$5.00.
- DIETSCHI, PETER, *Der Parallelismus Ferdinand Hodlers*, Basel, Birkhäuser, 1957. Pp. 103; 12 pls. 9.35 Swiss francs. (Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, xvi)
- ERBEN, WALTER, *Marc Chagall*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 158; 64 pls.; 12 color pls. \$7.50.
- EVANS, JOAN, *Life in Medieval France*, New York, Phaidon Publishers, Inc. (distributed by Garden City Books), 1957. Pp. 255; 94 figs.; 6 color pls. \$7.50. (Revised and newly illustrated edition; first published 1925)
- FALDI, ITALO, *La quadreria della cassa depositi e prestiti*, Rome, Istituto poligrafico dello stato, 1956. Pp. 50; 50 pls.
- FRANCK, CARLLUDWIG, *Die Barockvillen in Frascati*, Deutscher Kunstverlag, Munich, 1956. Pp. 150; 143 figs. DM 19.00. (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien, xxviii)
- FRIEDLAENDER, WALTER, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1957. Pp. 89; 46 figs. \$4.00. (Two essays translated from German publications of 1925 and 1929)
- GABRIEL, ASTRIK L., *The Educational Ideas of Vincent of Beauvais*, The Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956. (Texts and Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education, iv)
- GILSON, ETIENNE, *Painting and Reality; the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts for 1955*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1957. Pp. 367; 117 figs. \$7.50. (Bollingen Series xxxv, 4)
- GIOSEFFI, DECIO, *Perspectiva artificialis per la storia della prospettiva, spigolature e appunti*, Trieste, Università degli studi di Trieste, 1957. Pp. 145; 57 figs. (Istituto di storia dell'arte antica e moderna, 7)
- GODFREY, F. M., *A Student's Guide to Early Italian Painting, 1250-1500*, Hollywood-by-the-Sea, Fla., Transatlantic Arts, 1956. Pp. 184; 137 figs. \$5.50.
- GOMBRICH, E. H., *Raphael's Madonna della Sedia*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. 26; 1 pl. \$0.75.
- GOULD, CECIL, *An Introduction to Italian Renaissance Painting*, New York, Phaidon Publishers Inc. (distributed by Garden City Books), 1957. Pp. 254; 250 figs.; 4 color pls. \$7.50.
- GROSLIER, BERNARD (-PHILIPPE) and JACQUES ARTHAUD, *The Arts and Civilization of Angkor*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 230; 112 figs.; 6 color pls. \$15.00.
- HENZE, ANTON, *Westfälische Kunstgeschichte*, Recklinghausen, Paulus Verlag, 1957. Pp. 484; 319 figs. DM 32.80.
- HIPPLE, WALTER JOHN, JR., *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondale, Ill., Southern Illinois University Press, 1957. Pp. 390; 4 pls. \$7.00.
- HOLLOWAY, OWEN E., *Graphic Art of Japan; the Classical School*, Hollywood-by-the-Sea, Fla., Transatlantic Arts, 1957. Pp. 140; 126 figs. \$7.75.
- ISHERWOOD-KAY, BARBARA (ed.), *British Historical Portraits; a Selection from the National Portrait Gallery, with Biographical Notes*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. 266; 382 figs. \$3.50.
- JANSON, H. W. and DORA JANE, *The Picture History of Painting from Cave Painting to Modern Times*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1957. Pp. 320; over 500 figs., of which 103 in color. \$15.00.
- JOHANN BERNARD FISCHER VON ERLACH, Vienna, Anton Schroll, 1956-57. Pp. 242; 48 pls.
- KUNOTH, GEORGE, *Die historische Architektur Fischers von Erlach*, Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1956. Pp. 290; 178 figs. DM 44.00. (Bonner Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, v)
- Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, n. f. 1, 1955-56, 3-4, Vienna, Böhlau, 1956. Pp. 152. DM 6.00.
- LAWRENCE, A. W., *Greek Architecture*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1957. Pp. 327; 170 figs.; 152 pls. \$12.50. (Pelican History of Art)

- Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Pintura portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1956. Pp. 6; 83 pls. (Obras de arte do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1)
- Los Angeles County Museum, *The Arts of the T'ang Dynasty; Catalogue of a Loan Exhibit Jan. 8-Feb. 17, 1957*. Pp. 133; 376 figs.
- MALRAUX, ANDRÉ, *Saturn; an Essay on Goya*, New York, Phaidon Publishers (distributed by Garden City Books), 1957. Pp. 184; 150 figs.; 18 color pls. \$10.00.
- MANCINI, GIULIO, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, Rome, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. I. Considerazioni sulla pittura, Viaggio per Roma, Appendici; edizione critica e introduzione di Adriana Marucchi, 1956, pp. 346. II, Commento alle opere del Mancini di Luigi Salerno, 1957.
- MATHER, FRANK JEWETT, JR., *Charles Herbert Moore, Landscape Painter*, Princeton University Press, 1957. Pp. 85; 36 figs. \$3.50.
- MATTHEWS, KENNETH D., JR., *Cities in the Sand (Leptis Magna and Sabratha in Roman Africa)*, with photographs by Alfred W. Cook, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957. Pp. 160; 97 pls. \$10.00.
- MAUQUOY-HENDRICKX, MARIE, *L'iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck—catalogue raisonné*, Brussels, Académie royale de Belgique, 1956. I, 383 pp. II, 118 pls. and 38 double pls. 800 Belgian francs.
- MEISS, MILLARD, *Andrea Mantegna as Illuminator; an Episode in Renaissance Art, Humanism and Diplomacy*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1957. Pp. 114; 103 figs.; 1 color pl. \$6.50.
- METZ, PETER (based on German text of), *The Golden Gospels of Echternach (Codex aureus epternacensis)*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 96; 96 pls.; 13 color pls. \$25.00.
- MILOBEDZKI, ADAM, *Krótki Nauka Budownicza Dworów, Pałaców, Zamków Podług Nieba I Zwyczaju Polskiego*, Warsaw, 1957. Pp. 119; 53 figs. 36 zlotys.
- Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 63, 1956. Pp. 162; 60 pls. DM 42.00.
- MURTHA, EDWIN, *Paul Manship*, New York, Macmillan, 1957. Pp. 22; 10 figs.; 124 pls. \$12.50.
- Netherlands, *Verslagen der Rijksverzamelingen van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, LXXVII, 1955, The Hague, Staatsdrukkerij. Pp. 226; figs. and pls.
- OETTINGER, KARL, *Datum und Signatur bei Wolf Huber und Albrecht Altdorfer*, Erlangen, Erlanger Forschungen Universitätsbibliothek, 1957. Pp. 69; 4 pls. DM 7.00.
- PALLUCCHINI, RODOLFO, *Piazzetta*, Milan, Aldo Martello, 1957. Pp. 79; 197 pls.; 18 color pls. 8000 lire.
- PARROT, ANDRÉ, *Golgotha and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. 127; 29 figs.; 8 pls. \$2.75.
- RICHARDSON, E. P., *Painting in America; the Story of 450 Years*, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1956. Pp. 447; 170 figs.; 17 pls. \$10.00 (text ed. \$7.50).
- ROBERTSON, R. A., *Old Sheffield Plate*, Fair Lawn, N.J., Essential Books, Inc., 1957. Pp. 190; 25 pls. \$3.25.
- ROSENBERG, JAKOB, *Picasso—Graphic Art*, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, 1957. Pp. 32; 28 pls. \$0.50. (Fogg Museum Picture Book, 7)
- RUMPF, ANDREAS, *Stilphasen der spätantiken Kunst*, Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1957. Pp. 52; 40 pls. DM 9.80. (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Abhandlung, 44)
- SCHEIBER, ALEXANDER, *The Kaufmann Haggadah*, Budapest, Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1957. Pp. 29 (in English); 112 color pls. \$30.00. (Facsimile edition of MS 422, Kaufmann Collection, Oriental Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
- SELIGMAN, JANET, *Figures of Fun; the Caricature-Statuettes of Jean-Pierre Dantan*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 158; 20 pls. \$3.40.
- SHAHN, BEN, *The Shape of Content*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. 131; many figs.; 1 color pl. \$4.00.
- Siculorum Gymnasium*, n.s., IX, 1-2, Catania, 1956. Pp. 150. 1200 lire.
- SIMON, ERIKA, *Die Portlandvase*, Mainz, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 1957. Pp. 87; 38 pls.
- STENTON, SIR FRANK (gen. ed.) and SIMONE BERTRAND, GEORGE WINGFIELD DIGBY, CHARLES H. GIBBS-SMITH, SIR JAMES MANN, JOHN L. NEVINSON and FRANCIS WORMALD, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, New York, Phaidon Publishers, 1957. Pp. 182; 38 figs.; 57 pls.; 14 color pls. \$10.00.
- Symbolister*, Malmö, Allhem, 1957. I, *Ikonomologiska Studier*, by Ingvar Bergström et al., 209 pp. II, *Giuseppe Arcimboldo*, by Sven Alfons, 192 pp. III, *Ikonomologiska Studier*, by Evald Gustafsson et al., 245 pp. Numerous figs. 14 Swedish crowns each; bound together, 55 Swedish crowns. (Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap, xxx-xxxii)
- TALBOT RICE, TAMARA, *The Scythians*, New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 255; 127 figs. \$5.00.
- VALENTINER, W. R., *Rembrandt and Spinoza; a Study of the Spiritual Conflicts in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, London, Phaidon Press, 1957. Pp. 87; 14 pls. \$4.75.
- Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. 26; 3 pls.
- Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr: Ausstellung in Villa Hügel*, Essen, Tellus-Verlag, 1956. Pp. 332; 64 pls.
- WHITE, JOHN, *Perspective in Ancient Drawing and Painting*, London, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1956. Pp. 87; 12 pls. 15s.
- WILENSKI, R. H., *The Modern Movement in Art*, New York, Thomas Yoseloff, 1957. Pp. 216; 66 figs.; 2 color pls. \$8.50. (First issued in 1926; brought up to date by a new preface)
- WORRINGER, WILHELM, *Form in Gothic*, Hollywood-by-the-Sea, Fla., Transatlantic Arts, 1957. Pp. 181; 50 pls. \$6.75. (New edition, edited with introduction by Sir Herbert Read; first English edition, 1927)
- WÜRTENBERGER, FRANZSEPP, *Pieter Bruegel d. A und die deutsche Kunst*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1957. Pp. 173; 32 pls. DM 24.00.
- ZARNECKI, GEORGE, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. 46; 81 figs. \$4.75.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXIX



INDEX TO VOLUME XXXIX

- Ackerman, James S., *The Cortile del Belvedere*, reviewed by B. Lowry, 159-168
- Angulo Iñiguez, Diego, Enrique Marco Dorta, and Mario J. Buschiazso, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, reviewed by H. E. Wethey, 155-159
- Baur, John I. H., review of M. W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*, 77-80
- Baylé, Jeanne, and Michèle Beaulieu, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, reviewed by R. A. Koch, 309-310
- Beaulieu, Michèle, and Jeanne Baylé, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, reviewed by R. A. Koch, 309-310
- Beazley, John, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, reviewed by F. P. Johnson, 147
- Bieber, Margarete, *The Sculpture of the Hellenic Age*, reviewed by R. Carpenter, 67-73
- Branner, Robert, *Three Problems from the Villard de Honnecourt Manuscript*, 61-66
- Breckenridge, James D., "Et Prima Vidi": *The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother*, 9-32; review of Y. Hackenbroch, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*; idem, *Chelsea and Other English Porcelain, Pottery and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*; and S. Ducret, *Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century*, 245-248
- Brown, Milton W., *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*, reviewed by J. I. H. Baur, 77-80
- Buschiazso, Mario J., Diego Angulo Iñiguez, and Enrique Marco Dorta, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, reviewed by H. E. Wethey, 155-159
- Carpenter, Rhys, review of M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 67-73
- Cuttler, Charles D., *The Lisbon "Temptation of St. Anthony" by Jerome Bosch*, 109-126
- Darby, Delphine Fitz, review of H. E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, Architect*, 152-155; *Ribera and the Blind Men*, 195-217
- de Zurko, Edward R., *Alberti's Theory of Form and Function*, 142-145
- Dowley, Francis H., *D'Angiviller's "Grands Hommes" and the Significant Moment*, 259-277
- Ducret, Siegfried, *Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century*, reviewed by J. D. Breckenridge, 245-248
- Eisenberg, Marvin J., *An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco*, 49-52; review of D. C. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy During the XIV Century*, 150-152
- Enggass, Robert, *Bernini, Gaulli, and the Frescoes of the Gesù*, 303-305
- Faison, S. Lane, Jr., review of W. Grohmann, *Paul Klee*, and W. Haftmann, *The Mind and Work of Paul Klee*, 80-81
- Fehl, Philipp, *Questions of Identity in Veronese's "Christ and the Centurion,"* 301-302
- Forsyth, George H., Jr., *The Church of St. Martin at Angers*, reviewed by R. Krautheimer, 147-150
- Forsyth, William H., *The Virgin and Child in French Fourteenth Century Sculpture: A Method of Classification*, 171-182
- Frankl, Paul, *The Chronology of Chartres Cathedral*, 33-47; *Unnoticed Fragments of Old Stained Glass in Notre-Dame de Paris*, 299-300
- Gómez-Moreno, Carmen, *A Reconstructed Panel by Fra Angelico and Some New Evidence for the Chronology of His Work*, 183-193
- Goossens, Korneel, *David Vinckboons*, reviewed by S. Slive, 311-316
- Gorissen, Friedrich, "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg; eine Nimweger Künstlerfamilie um die Wende des 14. Jhs.," reviewed by M. Rickert, 73-77
- Gottlieb, Carla, *The Brussels Version of the Mérode "Annunciation,"* 53-59
- Gowans, Alan, *Church Architecture in New France*, reviewed by G. Morisset, 242-243
- Grabar, Oleg, review of D. S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, 240-242
- Grohmann, Will, *Paul Klee*, reviewed by S. L. Faison, Jr., 80-81
- Hackenbroch, Yvonne, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection and Chelsea and Other English Porcelain, Pottery and Enamel in the Irwin Collection*, reviewed by J. D. Breckenridge, 245-248
- Haftmann, Werner, *The Mind and Work of Paul Klee*, reviewed by S. L. Faison, Jr., 80-81
- Hairs, M. L., *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVIIe siècle*, reviewed by J. R. Martin, 318-320
- Hanfmann, George M. A., review of F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, *Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form*, 233-240
- Hibbard, Howard, *A Representation of "Fides" by Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 137-138
- Huth, Hans, review of M. Kühn, *Schloss Charlottenburg*, 316-318
- Johnson, F. P., review of J. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, 147
- Johnson, James R., *Stained Glass and Imitation Gems*, 221-224
- Koch, Robert A., review of M. Beaulieu and J. Baylé, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, 309-310

- Krautheimer, Richard, review of G. H. Forsyth, Jr., *The Church of St. Martin at Angers*, 147-150
- Kühn, Margarete, *Schloss Charlottenburg*, reviewed by H. Huth, 316-318
- Loeffler, Elaine P., *A Famous Antique: A Roman Sarcophagus at the Los Angeles Museum*, 1-7
- Lowry, Bates, review of J. S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, 159-168
- McCormick, Thomas J., review of V. J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright*, 320-321
- Marco Dorta, Enrique, Diego Angulo Iñiguez, and Mario J. Buschiazso, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, reviewed by H. E. Wethey, 155-159
- Martin, John Rupert, review of M. L. Hairs, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVIIe siècle*, 318-320
- Matz, Friedrich, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, *Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form*, reviewed by M. A. Hanfmann, 233-240
- Morisset, Gérard, review of A. Gowans, *Church Architecture in New France*, 242-243
- Norton, Paul F., *The Lost "Sleeping Cupid" of Michelangelo*, 251-257
- Ogden, Henry V. S., and Margaret S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, reviewed by M. Whiffen, 243-245.
- Randall, Lilian M. C., *Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination*, 97-107
- Rice, D. S., *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, reviewed by O. Grabar, 240-242
- Rickert, Margaret, review of F. Gorissen, "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg; eine Nimweger Künstlerfamilie um die Wende des 14. Jhs.," 73-77
- Rosenblum, Robert, *The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism*, 279-290
- Schapiro, Meyer, *Notes on Castelseprio*, 292-299
- Schlumberger, Daniel, review of D. N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Il Khānīd Period*, 307-309
- Scully, Vincent J., Jr., *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright*, reviewed by T. J. McCormick, 320-321
- Selz, Peter, *The Aesthetic Theories of Wassily Kandinsky and Their Relationship to the Origin of Non-Objective Painting*, 127-136
- Shorr, Dorothy C., *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy During the XIV Century*, reviewed by M. J. Eisenberg, 150-152
- Slive, Seymour, review of K. Goossens, *David Vinckboons*, 311-316
- Steadman, John M., *The Iconographical Background of Quarles' "Flesh" and "Spirit"*, 231-232
- Tselos, Dimitri, *The Influence of the Utrecht Psalter in Carolingian Art*, 87-96
- Weitzmann-Fiedler, Josefa, *A Pyramus and Thisbe Bowl in the Princeton Museum*, 219-221
- Wethey, Harold E., *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, Architect*, reviewed by D. Fitz Darby, 152-155; review of D. Angulo Iñiguez, E. Marco Dorta, and M. J. Buschiazso, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, 155-159
- Whiffen, Marcus, review of H. V. S. Ogden and M. S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, 243-245
- Wilber, Donald N., *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Il Khānīd Period*, reviewed by D. Schlumberger, 307-309
- Wischnitzer, Rachel, *Rembrandt, Callot, and Tobias Stimmer*, 224-230
- Wunder, Richard Paul, *Addenda to Elaine Loeffler's "A Famous Antique,"* 291-292
- Ziff, Jerrold, *The Reconstruction of an Altarpiece by Andrea Vanni*, 138-142
- AESTHETICS**
- de Zurko, E. R., *Alberti's Theory of Form and Function*, 142-145
- Selz, P., *The Aesthetic Theories of Wassily Kandinsky and Their Relationship to the Origin of Non-Objective Painting*, 127-136
- AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE**
- McCormick, T. J., review of V. J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright*, 320-321
- ANTIQUITY**
- Carpenter, R., review of M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, 67-73
- Hanfmann, G. M. A., review of F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst*, I, *Die geometrische und die früharchaische Form*, 233-240
- Johnson, F. P., review of J. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters*, 147
- Loeffler, E. P., *A Famous Antique: A Roman Sarcophagus at the Los Angeles Museum*, 1-7
- Wunder, R. P., *Addenda to Elaine Loeffler's "A Famous Antique,"* 291-292
- BAROQUE AND CLASSIC ART**
- Darby, D. Fitz, review of H. E. Wethey, *Alonso Cano: Painter, Sculptor, Architect*, 152-155; *Ribera and the Blind Men*, 195-217
- Enggass, R., *Bernini, Gaulli, and the Frescoes of the Gesù*, 303-305

- Huth, H., review of M. Kühn, *Schloss Charlottenburg*, 316-318
 Martin, J. R., review of M. L. Hairs, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVIIe siècle*, 318-320
 Morisset, G., review of A. Gowans, *Church Architecture in New France*, 242-243
 Slive, S., review of K. Goossens, *David Vinckboons*, 311-316
 Wischnitzer, R., *Rembrandt, Callot, and Tobias Stimmer*, 224-230
- CERAMICS
 Breckenridge, J. D., review of Y. Hackenbroch, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*; *idem*, *Chelsea and Other English Porcelain, Pottery and Enamel in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*; and S. Ducret, *Unknown Porcelain of the 18th Century*, 245-248
- COSTUME
 Koch, R. A., review of M. Beaulieu and J. Baylé, *Le Costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à Charles le Téméraire*, 309-310
- EARLY CHRISTIAN ART
 Schapiro, M., *Notes on Castelseprio*, 292-299
- ICONOGRAPHY
 Breckenridge, J. D., "Et Prima Vidi": *The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother*, 9-32
 Dowley, F. H., *D'Angiviller's "Grands Hommes" and the Significant Moment*, 259-277
 Eisenberg, M. J., review of D. C. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy During the XIV Century*, 150-152
 Hibbard, H., *A Representation of "Fides" by Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 137-138
 Rosenblum, R., *The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism*, 279-290
 Steadman, J. M., *The Iconographical Background of Quarles' "Flesh" and "Spirit"*, 231-232
- LANDSCAPE
 Whiffen, M., review of H. V. S. Ogden and M. S. Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, 243-245
- LATIN AMERICAN ART
 Wethey, H. E., review of D. Angulo Iniguez, E. Marco Dorta, and M. J. Buschiazzi, *Historia del arte hispanoamericano*, III, 155-159
- MEDIAEVAL ART
 Branner, R., *Three Problems from the Villard de Honnecourt Manuscript*, 61-66
 Forsyth, W. H., *The Virgin and Child in French Fourteenth Century Sculpture: A Method of Classification*, 171-182
 Frankl, P., *The Chronology of Chartres Cathedral*, 33-47; *Unnoticed Fragments of Old Stained Glass in Notre-Dame de Paris*, 299-300
 Johnson, J. R., *Stained Glass and Imitation Gems*, 221-224
 Krautheimer, R., review of G. H. Forsyth, Jr., *The Church of St. Martin at Angers*, 147-150
 Randall, L. M. C., *Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination*, 97-107
 Tselos, D., *The Influence of the Utrecht Psalter in Carolingian Art*, 87-96
 Weitzmann-Fiedler, J., *A Pyramus and Thisbe Bowl in the Princeton Museum*, 219-221
 Ziff, J., *The Reconstruction of an Altarpiece by Andrea Vanni*, 138-142
- MODERN ART
 Baur, J. I. H., review of M. W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*, 77-80
 Faison, S. Lane, Jr., review of W. Grohmann, *Paul Klee*, and W. Haftmann, *The Mind and Work of Paul Klee*, 80-81
- NEAR EASTERN ART
 Grabar, O., review of D. S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, 240-242
 Schlumberger, D., review of D. N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Il Khānīd Period*, 307-309
- RENAISSANCE ART
 Cuttler, C. D., *The Lisbon "Temptation of St. Anthony" by Jerome Bosch*, 109-126
 Eisenberg, M. J., *An Early Altarpiece by Lorenzo Monaco*, 49-52
 Fehl, P., *Questions of Identity in Veronese's "Christ and the Centurion"*, 301-302
 Gómez-Moreno, C., *A Reconstructed Panel by Fra Angelico and Some New Evidence for the Chronology of His Work*, 183-193
 Gottlieb, C., *The Brussels Version of the Mérode "Annunciation"*, 53-59
 Lowry, B., review of J. S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, 159-168
 Norton, P. F., *The Lost "Sleeping Cupid" of Michelangelo*, 251-257
 Rickert, M., review of F. Gorissen, "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg; eine Nimweger Künstlerfamilie um die Wende des 14. Jhs.," 73-77

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

HONORARY DIRECTORS

MYRTILLA AVERY

Wellesley College

WALTER W. S. COOK

New York University

DAVID M. ROBINSON

University of Mississippi

PAUL J. SACHS

Harvard University

OFFICERS

President

JOSEPH C. SLOANE

Bryn Mawr College

Vice-President

LAMAR DODD

University of Georgia

Secretary

HOWARD MC P. DAVIS

Columbia University

Treasurer

JOHN W. STRAUS

Macy's, New York

Honorary Counsel

ROBERT E. HERMAN

New York City

DIRECTORS

To Serve Until 1958

GEORGE H. FORSYTH, JR.

University of Michigan

STEFAN HIRSCH

Bard College

THOMAS C. HOWE, JR.

*California Palace of the Legion of
Honor, San Francisco*

A. HYATT MAYOR

Metropolitan Museum of Art

JOHN W. STRAUS

Macy's, New York

To Serve Until 1959

DONALD B. GOODALL

University of Southern California

RICHARD KRAUTHEIMER

New York University

CHARLES P. PARKHURST, JR.

Oberlin College

CARL O. SCHNIEWIND

Art Institute of Chicago

JOSEPH C. SLOANE

Bryn Mawr College

To Serve Until 1960

ROBERTA M. ALFORD

Indiana University

HOWARD MC P. DAVIS

Columbia University

ROBERT GOLDWATER

Queen's College

ROBERT E. HERMAN

New York City

THOMAS MUNRO

Cleveland Museum of Art

ERWIN PANOFSKY

Institute for Advanced Study

To Serve Until 1961

DAVID R. COFFIN

Princeton University

LAMAR DODD

University of Georgia

BARTLETT H. HAYES, JR.

Addison Gallery of American Art

WALTER W. HORN

University of California, Berkeley

VINCENT SCULLY

Yale University

